

The Duke Chronicle

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Friday, November 1

Johnson calls bombing halt

45 months of attacks end as peace talks take new turn

By Neil Sheehan

(C) N.Y. Times News Service

WASHINGTON—President Johnson announced last night that he was ordering a complete halt to all American air, naval, and artillery bombardment of North Vietnam as of 8 a.m. eastern standard time today.

"I have reached this decision on the basis of the developments in the Paris talks," the President said, "and I have reached it in the belief that this action can lead to progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese War."

"What we now expect—what we have a right to expect," the President said in a nationwide television broadcast, "are prompt, productive, serious and intensive negotiations in an atmosphere that is conducive to progress."

His face showed fatigue as he made the announcement culminating weeks of secret negotiations.

Johnson did not announce any reciprocal military commitments from North Vietnam, which he has often said he must have in order to halt the air and naval bombardment that began on Feb. 7, 1965.

Nevertheless, senior administration sources said, the United States had "reason to believe" North Vietnam will not escalate the war in South Vietnam as a result of the bombing cessation. They said Hanoi "clearly understood" that Johnson would resume the bombing if it attacked South Vietnamese population centers or took military advantage of the demilitarized zone.

On its side, North Vietnam apparently had not obtained the unconditional bombing halt it has consistently demanded.

Johnson said that in exchange for the bombing halt Hanoi had agreed to accept participation of the South Vietnamese government at the Paris talks and the United States had in turn accepted the participation of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Vietcong.

"A regular session of the Paris talks will take place on Wednesday, Nov. 6, at which the representatives

or the government of South Vietnam are free to participate," Johnson said.

"We are informed by the representatives of the Hanoi government that the representatives of the National Liberation Front will also be present."

Johnson said that the presence of the N.L.F. representatives at the talks did not constitute official American recognition of their organization.

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While emphasizing that the United States had reason to believe that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of the bombing cessation, administration sources said Hanoi would announce that Washington has agreed to an unconditional bombing halt and that the United States would not dispute this.

"We have reached—the stage where productive talks can begin," the President said. "We have made clear to the other side that such talks cannot continue if they take military advantage of them. We cannot have productive talks in an atmosphere where the cities are being shelled and where the demilitarized zone is being abused."

Johnson felt it necessary



UPI photo
President Johnson

however, "to caution you, my fellow Americans that arrangements of this kind are never fool-proof."

Administration sources said it reconnoissance flights over North Vietnam would continue despite the bombing halt. Aabrams also has authority to use aircraft and artillery bombardment against enemy forces north of the demilitarized zone to protect his troops against a clear threat.

The general does not have authority to resume a general air or artillery bombardment, however,

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No 'Dixie' action

The Duke University Marching Band voted yesterday not to make a decision on the playing of Dixie at University functions.

Immediately prior to the vote, Band Director James Henry informed the band members that Red Lewis, Business Manager of the Duke University Athletic Association (DUA) had communicated his hope that the band would not act on the question. DUA furnishes all funds for both the marching band and the pep band, including uniforms and traveling expenses.

As a result of this action the lone black member of the band, Nik Walker, announced that he would resign from the band if Dixie was played.

The feeling among all parties concerned, including the band membership as well as the leadership and representatives of the Afro-American Society who also addressed the Band, was that

the administration was trying to avoid taking a controversial stand.

Band Director Henry indicated that the band would stop playing Dixie if someone in the administration, anyone, would simply ask him not to play it. Similar actions were taken at UNC last year and Miami this year. A senior member of the band estimated that had the members decided to stop playing Dixie, number of pro-Dixie band members would resign.

Last weekend on the trip to West Point the vote of the membership on whether or not to play Dixie was split. Director Henry decided not to play the song.

At half time the Duke cheerleader performed on the West Point side where the Army band played Dixie.

Yesterday's vote left substantial doubt as to whether or not the band would play Dixie at the Georgia Tech game.



UPI Photo

Czech students storm Prague Castle shouting "Russians Go Home!"

Czechs to discuss Marxist theories

By John Howell

Staff writer

Four Czechoslovakians from Prague will take part in a conference on the Christian-Marxist Dialog November 2 and 3, Saturday and Sunday, at the Westminster House on Alexander Avenue.

The conference, sponsored by the Duke University Christian Movement, will include about fifty area professors, student, and pastors. The purpose of the weekend meetings are to provide opportunities for deeper understanding, candid discussions, and honest criticism. To insure maximum personal participation, the meetings have been limited to 50 persons and well not be open to the public.

The four Czechoslovakians attending the dialogue will be Dan Drapel, Jules Tomin, Lubomir Mirejowsky and Vitezslav Gerdovsky. Drapel is a student spokesman for the younger generation of Czechs and was a leader of the reform movement of last spring.

An assistant professor of Marxism at the University of Prague, Jule Tomin is a frequent speaker at international conferences dealing with the Marxist-Christian Dialog.

Lubomir Mirejowsky is a brilliant and experienced pastor of the Czech Reformed Church and Vitezslav Gerdovsky is a professor of Marxism at Brno and one of the ten leading Marxist philosophers of

Eastern Europe.

On Sunday, November 3, at 8 p.m. in Baldwin Auditorium, the Czechs will discuss "The Crisis in Czechoslovakia Today." They will speak on the meaning of the recent events in their country. This presentation will be open to all members of the Duke and Durham communities.



Student efforts to aid California boycott of grapes receives some support on campus.

Grape boycott

Ted Minah, director of the dining halls, has temporarily stopped buying California grapes, he said yesterday.

The action came in response to a request from student's supporting the strike of migrant workers in California. Minah said that he would make a final decision on buying grapes after a student referendum Thursday.

The referendum will be sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

Minah said that he was in sympathy with the issues in the

grape boycott, but felt the dining halls shouldn't make the decision for the students. He agreed with the idea of a referendum, and said "I certainly would be willing to abide by this."

Duke support of the California strike is being engineered by Clark Coleman '70. Coleman has set up a table on the main quad this week, urging students to boycott grapes and collecting money for the strike fund.

He collected about \$13 Tuesday and about \$6 yesterday he said.

Frat name

Confirming their decision to go local, the members of Lambda Chi Alpha have officially announced the fraternity's new name: Phi Gamma Tau.

U. S. officials reveal tangled diplomacy

By Peter Grose

(C) N.Y. Times News Service
WASHINGTON—On Oct. 9, 1968, North Vietnam began asking the United States some serious questions. Those questions and the American replies dominated 22 days of tense and tangled diplomacy, involving a dozen capitals, and led yesterday to an order to cease all bombing of North Vietnam.

As President Johnson announced his long-awaited decision, high administration officials lifted the tight cover on the dossier of secret diplomatic exchanges, revealing a large part of the substance behind the public speculation around the world for weeks past.

Here is how administrative officials say the diplomatic efforts unfolded:

For many months after the start of the Paris talks last May 13, North Vietnam and the United States were talking past each other, as one high official put it. Hanoi refused to speak of "conditions" for a bombing halt: Washington refused any further unilateral action, beyond the partial suspension of bombing announced March 31, which led to the opening of discussion.

During this summer, one small band of administration policymakers who were privy to the Paris discussions became convinced that the impasse could be broken somehow, since it did not focus precisely on the real issue. What Johnson required, they said, was not a race-saving act of reciprocity, but some concrete steps that would

save the U' S' and allied troops from additional punishment in the field if the bombing were halted.

So a formula was drawn up early in September for presentation to Hanoi, in secret. It focused, not on halting the bombing, but on maintaining a halt in the bombing—thus putting the emphasis on future acts rather than prior acts.

It furthermore shifted the impasse away from the military struggle into the crucial question of political participation by the government of South Vietnam and the Hanoi-supported National Liberation Front in eventual peace negotiations.

This is the formula which W. Averell Harriman was finally instructed to present to Hanoi after a series of meetings in Washington ending Sept. 17:

The President simply could not maintain a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam unless it was very promptly evident to him, to the American people, and to our allies that it was indeed a step toward peace. If there were abuses of the demilitarized zone, Vietcong of North Vietnamese attacks on the cities or other populated areas, such as provincials capitals, in South Vietnam, or a refusal by Hanoi authorities to enter promptly into serious political discussions that included the elected government of South Vietnam, bombing cessation could not be sustained.

Hanoi listened to the formula and for a time said nothing. But on Oct. 9, at the regular weekly meeting in Paris, the Hanoi negotiators quietly asked whether they understood correctly that the U. S. would really halt the bombing of

North Vietnam if they agreed to have representatives from Saigon at the conference table.

Harriman reminded them of the other two points and said he would ask his government for a precise answer to this pointed question from North Vietnam.

Johnson thus presented the most serious turning point in the months of dilatory talks. Hanoi's question was direct; it could not be answered casually, for in the ways and manners of diplomacy it was the key issue.

The President asked General Abrams and the U. S. Ambassador in Saigon, Ellsworth Bunker, for their assessment of Harriman's report and the effect of an affirmative reply to Hanoi's question.

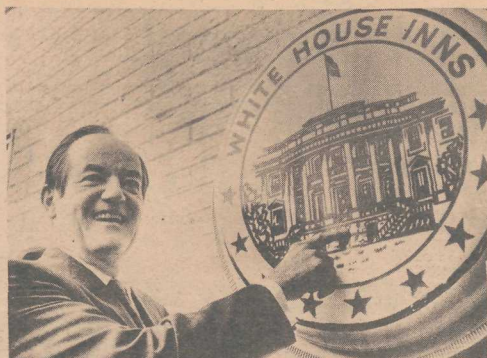
In a joint reply, the two men said: "We interpret the exchange as meaning that Hanoi is ready for a shift in tactics, from the battlefield to the conference table." They stated their belief that "Hanoi would move forward" on receiving an affirmative reply.

Johnson then asked Bunker to raise the subject with President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam.

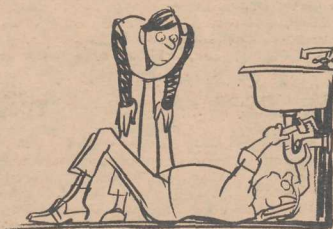
Thieu replied that the U. S. and its allies must not curtail military actions and bombing raids against the enemy in South Vietnam, but that he expected the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese to refrain from ground action in the demilitarized zone and against South Vietnamese cities.

Then endorsed a positive reply to Hanoi's question.

"The problem is not stopping bombing, but stopping the war," he was said to have replied.



While in Charlotte, N.C. campaigning for the presidency, Hubert Humphrey smiles jubilantly as he points to what he hopes will be his future home.



1. Pipe broken?

No, I'm trying to find where I stashed some dough.



2. That's where you keep your money?

Sometimes I put it in the flower pot.



3. What's wrong with the bank?

I'd only take it right out again.



4. But that's what you're doing now.

Not quite. The beauty of my system is that I usually can't find where I put it.



5. I think you'd be a lot better off putting some of your dough into Living Insurance from Equitable. It not only gives you and the family you're going to have a lifetime of protection, it also builds cash values you can use for emergencies, opportunities, or even retirement.

I wonder if it could be with the french fries?

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Zoologist to speak

Called one of the distinguished zoologists of our time, Sir Alister Hardy, will speak at Duke University on two occasions today.

Under auspices of the Special Observances Committee of the Duke University Religious Council, he will deliver a public address on "Science and the Transcendent" at 8:15 p.m. in the Union Ballroom, West Campus.

At 4 p.m. he will talk on "Plankton" at a seminar sponsored by the zoology department of the University in Biological Sciences auditorium.

Both appearances of the English scientist whose career has spanned half a century of research, teaching, public lecturing and writing, will be open to the public without charge.



Photo by Mike McQuowen

Halloween came and went last night, black cats, pumpkins, witches, candy, and all.

Phi Bet scholars named

M. Margaret Ball, dean of the Women's College and President of the Beta Chapter of North Carolina Phi Beta Kappa announced the election of the following seniors to that honorary society on October 25, 1968:

Bonlyn Elizabeth Agan, David Jackson Bailey, Samuel Letcher Barton, Wayne Arthur Beatty, who graduated in June, 1968, Thomas Horton Beckett, Sharon Lorraine Bonney, Walter Slesman Bradley, Charles Thomas Clotfelter, Lorian Harry Copenhaver, George Nassif Corey, Katherine Alyce Crane, (Mrs.) Carol Anderson Crosby,

(Mrs.) Pamela Vaughan Daniel, who graduated in September, 1968, Sandra Jean Dillard, John Holland Dixon, Fr., Lewis Bryant Dozier, Willard Leland Eckhardt, Jr., John David Englar, Mary Etta Eyler, Richard Evans Gordon, Harvey S. Gots, Mary Fulton Green, William Dillard Gudger, and John Preston Harper.

Kenneth Cullen Harvey, Dallas Kern Holoman, James Roy Jackson, John Howard Judd, Jr., Mary Jane Kellett, Richard Hardy Lee, James Emmett Lenz, Jr., Mary Kendra Lewis, Eric William Lothman, Ingrid Ellen Lund,

Lucille Knox Mason, John Vick Mickey, Anthony Dean Morgan, Roger Harold Ost Dahl, Donald Wayne Pearce, Henry Baker Perry, III, Cynthia Louise Peterson, Thomas Allen Powers, Susan McClelland Prescott, Dorothy Elizabeth Rupp, Merele Frances Schreiber, Douglas George Sprugel, Carol Ann Tewksbury, who graduated in September, 1968, Cornelius Bullard Thomas, Jr., Isaac Casrel Thomas, Ellen Gaige Titus, Margaret Anne Van Antwerp, Alice Adelaide Weldon, Eric Vassar Witt, (Mrs.) Fern Haywood Wollaeger, Mark Nelson Yorra.

Congressional reaction mixed

By John W. Finney

(C) N.Y. Times News Service

WASHINGTON—The Johnson administration's decision to stop the bombing of North Vietnam was greeted enthusiastically last night by Congressional doves and somewhat skeptically by leading hawks.

The doves felt that the Presidential initiative had opened the door to peace in Vietnam.

Some hawks were concerned that the initiative had been taken without any specific assurances that North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing halt.

Sen. John C. Stennis of Mississippi, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee and an influential military spokesman on Capitol Hill, said it would be "tragic" if the halt continued more than two or three

days without specific evidence of "good faith" on the part of Hanoi.

While the Congressional reaction was generally favorable, there were some suggestions from leading Republicans that the President's action was politically motivated, designed to influence next Tuesday's election in favor of Democratic candidates.

Opinion was divided, however, over how much impact the President's move would have upon Congressional races, particularly in helping hard-pressed democratic doves up for re-election. The consensus, even among doves elated over the President's announcement, was that the move had come too late to have much of an impact upon voters.

Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, the ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, commented that "It's tragic that American lives are being played with this way."

"If it can be done now, it could have been done sooner," he said.

Rep. Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, the House Republican Leader, commented, "I would not like to believe that the timing of the bombing halt has anything to do with Tuesday's election."

"I must rely on the President's word that the bombing halt will not result in greater American casualties," Ford said. "We can only hope that the cessation of the toward peace settlement."

bombing will lead to real progress.

The White House went to considerable lengths to inform influential Congressional figures of the decision in advance of the President's announcement.

Some four hours before the announcement, for example, the President talked for about 15 minutes in a four-way telephone hookup with Speaker John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, and Senate Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. The President apparently received the endorsement of the three Congressional leaders for his action.

"I told him I was 100 per cent behind him," Mansfield said. "The others went along too."

Summing up the reaction of those who have long been critical of the administration's Vietnam policy, and who have been urging that the United States takes the initiative by stopping the bombing, Mansfield said in a telephone interview:

"It's the best hope we've had. For the first time, I feel like smiling a little bit."

Even among the doves there was an element of caution as they stressed that the success of the American initiative now depended upon a favorably response from Hanoi.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy,

D-Mass., said in a statement:

"Everyone who has worked and spoken for peace for so long must applaud the President's statement calling a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam."

"The spokesmen for North Vietnam have constantly stressed that an end to the bombing would result in real, meaningful negotiations in Paris. It is now time for them to prove by their actions the sincerity of their word."

"And it is no less important that our government continue to demonstrate its active desire to bring an end to the fighting in Vietnam."

The lack of any specific guarantees of a reciprocal military move by Hanoi provoked a critical reaction among some leading hawks.

Stennis has long advocated intensified bombing of North Vietnam until there was specific evidence of a change in Hanoi's position on a negotiated settlement.

"If this is a chance to stop the fighting," he said, "It cannot be passed up." But he said he was "doubtful" that there has been "a real change in position on the part of Hanoi."

"Until and unless they show further evidence," he said, "it would be tragic if the halt continues for more than a few days. We should be able to determine their good faith in that period."

North Viets quiet in Paris

By Hedrick Smith

(C) N. Y. Times News Service

PARIS—A North Vietnamese spokesman avoided immediate comment today on President Johnson's announcement of a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. But he said the North Vietnamese negotiating team would hold a press conference later today.

The official said that Xuan Thuy, the chief North Vietnamese negotiator, would have to study the text of Johnson's declaration before any comments would be made.

"We don't have the full text yet," one North Vietnamese official said. He suggested that reporters call back in two or three hours, before dawn, and perhaps there would be an official response.

It is understood that the North Vietnamese received word of the move from the United States Thursday afternoon.

Throughout the day the air of anticipation had mounted in diplomatic circles. Qualified informants said several hours before the President spoke that a late development today had cleared up last-minute difficulties in arranging the breakthrough.

There were indications that the North Vietnamese delegation had expected word on the bombing halt during the secret portion of yesterday's negotiating session and had complained to Harriman when

it was not forthcoming.

The announcement of the halt clears the way for both the Saigon government and the National Liberation Front to join the United States and North Vietnamese negotiators in the talks, apparently at the next session Nov. 6.

Arrangements for broadening the talks were worked out in weeks of secret explorations between the American and North Vietnamese negotiators.

The Americans overcame objections in both Saigon and Hanoi by drafting a plan that will leave the status of the Front and the Saigon regime vague.

The South Vietnamese negotiators are to sit beside the American delegates. The officials of the Front are to sit beside the North Vietnamese.

After the cabinet meeting, a French government spokesman said:

"On the subject of Vietnam, the minister of foreign affairs has the impression that the hours we are living through are decisive."

"The situation at the moment is very important. Either there is a decision now or the solution risks being delayed for a very long time."

In some quarters, his remarks were taken as encouragement to both the U.S. and North Vietnam to make the ultimate effort now to reach agreement on pushing the talks into a new phase.

The American scheme calls for introducing both the National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese government into the next phase of the talks. Saigon's negotiators would sit beside the American negotiators. The liberation front officials would sit beside North Vietnamese delegates.

The Front and Saigon would each claim that it was taking part in the talks as a full negotiating partner, but deny similar status to the other. Both would refuse to recognize its foe and ignore the other's comments.

-Johnson calls bombing halt-

(Continued from Page 1)

without permission from the President.

The bombing of enemy supply routes in Laos presumably would continue, since the President halted only the bombing of North Vietnam.

Prior to the broadcast, recorded at 3 p.m. but delayed for five hours, Johnson explained his decision to halt the bombardment of nearly three years and nine months duration to an extraordinary meeting of senior government officials in the cabinet room of the White House.

Virtually the entire top echelon of the government was assembled to hear him announce the end of a strategy that had cost the lives of 752 Air Force and Navy Airman, 913 American combat aircraft and had reduced to rubble the budding industrial plant of North Vietnam and much of its communications network.

The President opened the cabinet room meeting at the White House at 6:30 P.M.

Johnson's decision was communicated to a deeply divided nation in the turmoil of the final days of an election campaign.

The announcement, just five days before the presidential election, was certain to have serious political effects, although it was too early to estimate the impact accurately.

Many political observers believed the move was sure to help the

democrats, but they were uncertain of the extent to which it would aid Johnson's party at the polls.

Senior administration sources said all three presidential candidates supported the President's action.

In his television address Johnson asked the candidates not to criticize him. He said that "throughout the campaign we have been able to present a United voice supporting our government and supporting our men in Vietnam."

"I hope, and I believe," he said, "that this can continue until Jan. 20 of next year when a new president takes office. Because in this critical hour, we just simply cannot afford more than one voice speaking for our nation in the search for peace."

The President contended that his decision "very closely conforms" to his prior public statements on the subject of a bombing cessation and went to some lengths to assert that he had the full support of Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, the American military commander in Saigon, and other military leaders.

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff, all military men—have assured me and General Abrams firmly asserted to me on Tuesday in that early 2:30 a.m. meeting—that in their military judgment this action should be taken now and this action would not result in any increase in American casualties."

"As a result of this unanimous military and diplomatic advice," Johnson said, he decided "to take

this step now and to really determine the good faith of those who have assured us that progress will result when bombing ceases and to try to ascertain if any early peace is possible."

"The over-riding consideration that governs us at this hour is the chance and the opportunity that we might have to save human lives, save human lives on both sides of the conflict," the President said. Decision and for understanding of the problem of negotiating a final settlement to the war.

"What is required of us in these new circumstances is exactly that steady determination and patience which has brought us to this more hopeful prospect," he said.

He warned however, that "it should be clear to all of us that the new phase of negotiations which opens on Nov. 6 does not mean that a stable peace has yet to come to southeast Asia. There may well be very hard fighting ahead. Certainly, there is going to be some very hard negotiating because many difficult and critically important issues are still facing these negotiators."

The president's caution was underscored by news from South Vietnam today that enemy troops had fired rockets into saigon and the former imperial capital of Hue, killing at least 31 persons and injuring 87 others. The attacks continued until a few hours before the President's speech.

The enemy apparently launched the rocket attacks to disrupt the South Vietnam National Day celebrations. Nov. 1 is the anniversary of the overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem Government in 1963.

Senior administration sources said North Vietnam was informed today of the President's decision to completely cease aggressive military activity against their nation. The sources would not say how the decision was communicated.

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Page Four

Friday, November 1, 1968

A commendation

It is a startling characteristic of academic bureaucracies, and to a lesser extent all others, that authority at the top is invested in the person of the top official, and not in the office that this man occupies. Bylaws can, and of course must, allow the chief executive to exert ultimate authority in the administration of a University; but the bylaws cannot bestow on him the ability to exert that authority effectively.

How can an academic president act? We see two effective methods.

The first method is to do what most everyone wants you to do. In many cases this route is open to the President. The councils like SFAC in this community are given their peculiar prestige, in part, because they often consolidate University opinion into a consensus in anticipation of Presidential action.

The second method to exert authority is more risky and just that much less frequently used: executive order, or, in the genre, fiat. To read the bylaws, one would think that this method were the daily fare of a university president. Not so, although in some cases it can and must be used to resolve critical conflicts.

When a president acts by fiat he is falling flat, not so much on the authority of the bylaws, but on his personal prestige. When President Stanford at the University of Miami banned "Dixie", for example, he was subjected to relatively little campus outrage. Part of the reason was that, of the country's academic chief executives, he is perhaps the most highly respected "in his own country."

The renewed emphasis that President Knight has placed on the need for communication among all segments of the University community should remind us all of the absolute necessity for close cooperation and understanding in an academic community. He has opened several channels since returning to his executive duties this fall. In discussions with students, in meetings with councils and committees, even in his participation in the Homecoming Show, Dr. Knight has shown his concern for this subject.

When he stresses communication, Dr. Knight is nurturing the kind of community spirit that a university needs to operate smoothly. At the same time he is stressing the one thing that will help him be most effective in his duties.

For with communication, in our view, comes understanding and, frequently, consensus. This is the atmosphere in which presidential leadership is most effectively proffered and most easily accepted. And with communication comes exposure to the President, which, we are convinced, breeds the kind of respect that the President both needs and deserves.

We commend Dr. Knight's efforts and encourage community response.

Mudslinging

The race for governor of North Carolina is one more example of the irrelevant politics which are all too common in America today.

The candidates, Jim Gardner and Bob Scott, are only two sides of the same coin. And that coin isn't worth much.

The pace of the gubernatorial campaign has certainly been stepped up in the past few weeks. Each side is slinging mud faster and more furiously than ever before. Each side has studiously avoided the issues and just as carefully refused to "do something about the state we're in."

North Carolina has a long way yet to go, but it has the potential as a leader of a progressive South. There are in this state the resources, natural and financial, as well as the education to prevent the South from sinking deeper into its archaic past which is still alive and kicking. North Carolina should be a leader in putting to death these old myths.

We see no constructive effort being made in this campaign. So what's a North Carolinian to do—write in Reginald Hawkins?

Unsigned editorials represent the views of a majority of the editorial board.

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By *Dylan A. Knight*

Knight on racism, poverty

Readers of the Chronicle—

The South today is faced with twin historical dilemmas not unique to our region, but pervasive in their depth and influence on us. We as Southerners have a special responsibility to meet these problems which have held us in bondage for so many years—the twin problems of race and poverty.

In facing our future, any sensitive man must recognize the terrible effects of poverty on the human spirit, and the implications for society when large numbers of men are lost in structures that care nothing about their natures and make no creative use of them. Yet these men and women still try to retain a sense of community with their fellows.

The greatest force for social and economic change has always been education. Universities in all times and places have felt a responsibility to identify and comment on inequities in the societies from which they spring, and the university in the South as a unique opportunity to act out this historic role of constant critic and loyal partner of society.

Beyond the simple identification of problems, however, the Southern university has an opportunity to deal directly with some of the problems in ways which preserve the unique heritage of the South, its sense of family and of intimate community, and its determined, sometimes fierce commitment to individualism.

In facing our future, we must also recognize the persistence of the so-called racial problem. It suffers from poor definition and deep misunderstanding. There is not one racial problem, but a dozen, a hundred. We cannot do justice to the varieties of tragic difficulty inherent in the problem of human relationship which once was established for economic reasons—two intimate societies which could not be one under the very conditions that brought them together. When these events first began to occur in the seventeenth century, no one saw the mutual bondage which was to result, a bondage that continues after the passage of three centuries.

Building on a frank and honest awareness of the nature of past and present racial tangles, the South must continue now to develop relations of genuine solidarity without the destruction of an older sense of attachment and affection—relations of solidarity that must be based on an understanding and affection between equals. It would be tragedy to lose affection and human response in the supposed service of justice between man and man. If our ideal of justice is so abstract that we are just to man in general but cold to man in particular, then we do the worst injustice of all—the injustice of indifference.

Duke University has attempted not to be guilty of the injustice of indifference. Beyond the dual role of constant critic and loyal partner to society, it hopes to possess a vision for the society around it—a vision of a

better life for a whole area, both in human and economic terms.

Here are some of the things we have done in recent years to stimulate a better life for the people of this region:

First, Duke is probably the only college or university in the nation which has attached such importance to its obligation to the region that it has created a vice-presidency in that area. From Vice-President Hopkins' office came the initial proposal for Operation Breakthrough, and Mr. Hopkins served for three years as chairman of the board of that project. A second major effort has been the creation of the Educational Improvement Program, which provides new educational opportunities for local youth handicapped by poverty. This program is administered jointly by Duke, the Durham city and county schools, and Operation Breakthrough. Other examples of university commitment of resources to the region are ABC, an enrichment program for 8th and 9th grade boys; Project Opportunity, designed to help high school students qualify for college; and cooperative arrangements with several developing colleges, both predominantly black and predominantly white. Black colleges being assisted include Morris, St. Augustine and Shaw.

The developing cooperation with NCC already includes joint sponsorship of symposia and cultural programs, student and faculty exchanges, and civic and professional ventures. A Legal Aid Clinic and low-cost housing models are two projects now being developed. An agreement on reciprocal graduate registration is also in operation with NCC.

Through the North Carolina Fund, Duke has been in the forefront of the fight to break the cycle of poverty in the state. Both university and individual support has been channeled through this agency into such efforts as the Learning Institute of North Carolina University officials and others are now exploring ways of working through Project Outreach to bring ghetto businesses into the commercial community supported by university purchasing and contracting. Duke has also figured prominently, through Paul Fendt and Howard Lee, in the establishment of a manpower development project for the Durham area, a project which will recruit, train and employ disadvantaged and unemployed persons.

These and many other projects in which Duke University has been involved either officially or through its individuals, seem to me the most effective ways of bringing our vision into being for this whole region. They are positive, they are not pretentious, and they grow from the university's own unique nature. Finally, they are in the precise tradition of J.B. Duke's own attempts to meet these problems, which have often been ignored or misunderstood.

By Russell Baker

Only a fool would want it

WASHINGTON—As the Presidential campaign thunders towards its anticlimax, something very much like hope has begun to lift the spirit of the Republican Party.

This grows chiefly from polls which show Hubert Humphrey moving up in the stretch. "With luck we can still lose it," Republicans leaders tell you. To the cynical this sounds like whistling in the light, but close analysis suggests that they may be right.

For one thing, it now appears that Humphrey really wants to win. For another, the Republicans still have Richard Nixon going for them, and as they say around the Senate Republican cloakroom, "If Dick can't lose, it can't be lost."

Democrats for the most part are flabbergasted by Humphrey's drive, and not a little dismayed. Democrats, naturally, do not want to be responsible for governing the country the next four years, any more than the Republicans do.

They realize, just as clearly as the Republicans, that the Presidency during the next four years will be not a prize but a

sentence. Like the Republicans, they have worked hard in 1968 to avoid having this sentence imposed on them. This, of course, is why they chose Humphrey to run in the first place.

"The Republicans thought they had us boxed when they nominated Nixon," one highly placed Democrat explained the other day. "They figured that Nixon couldn't even beat your maiden aunt, and we would be stuck with the Presidency."

As usual, however, the Republicans underestimated Democratic cunning. When the Democrats met in Chicago the despair was as thick as the tear gas. "My maiden aunt could beat Dick Nixon," Jess Unruh, the Democratic baron of California, told a secret council of party leaders.

"That's right," said John Bailey, the party chairman. "But there's one other man in this country she can beat too."

And everybody in the room smiles simultaneously and said, "Hubert Humphrey!"

When President Johnson was

consulted, he said, "I like it, but a race between two who couldn't beat your maiden aunt can be a close thing. Too close for comfort. I think we need some disaster insurance."

So the President called Mayor Daley, and the Mayor assured him a disaster.

A less skilled loser than Nixon might have given up at the start of the campaign when the polls suggested that there was no way he could avoid winning. Nothing if not faithful to his party, however, Nixon determined not to accept victory without a struggle.

First, he had three old Nixons, cut up and, from the parts, made Spiro Agnew.

Then he ordered a million balloons and set off to tour the country behind a balloon barrier. When people looked to see what kind of President Nixon would make, all they could see was balloons.

"Hubert Humphrey might not be able to beat my maiden aunt," he reassured Republican leaders, "but there's just an outside chance

(Continued on Page 5)

By Dave Badger

Nixon: 'No man . . . better trained'

When Walt Whitman in 1871 likened the American political system to "life's gymnasium," he may well have been anticipating the tumultuous election year of 1968. Many a contender has entered the gymnasium's arena; of the three who remain for the final bout, one deserves our support. That man is Richard M. Nixon.

Nixon brings to his candidacy the ability, experience, and responsibility which are essential to the role. His campaign too has demonstrated the foresight and planning which are trademarks of a good administrator. And he is the only candidate who shows any promise of putting together a unified administration to govern the country.

Unquestionably, Nixon is well-prepared for the Presidency. After four years in the House, and two years in the Senate, he was elected Vice President under Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. In those eight years as Vice President, Nixon sat by invitation in the Cabinet, sat by right on the National Security Council, chaired both the Committee on Government Contracts and the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, and traveled the globe as the President's special envoy. While presiding in the U.S. Senate, he broke more tie votes

than any other Vice President in history.

Significantly, Pres. Eisenhower has said of Nixon, "No man in history was ever better trained for the Presidency."

Experience is a prerequisite, certainly, but Mr. Humphrey undeniably has as great experience as Nixon. What, then, distinguishes Nixon from Humphrey? The answer is his concerns, beliefs, and programs.

On Vietnam, Nixon favors decentralization of the war, but he will only agree to a bombing halt "if U.S. lives are not endangered." Like Humphrey, he wishes to bring the war an honorable conclusion. As he feels that "the only man at this time who has a change to negotiate a settlement" is the President, then a new administration, he concludes, will clearly have new options and will be able to learn and to benefit from mistakes of the past without being bound to the Johnson Administration's policies or alternatives.

When the war is finally concluded, Nixon proposes to abolish the draft and substitute for it a volunteer armed force system, while raising the pay of the armed forces "so that we can have a highly trained, highly skilled professional force." Humphrey, on the other

hand, advocates random selection of 19-year olds by lottery. On the foreign spending issue, Nixon suggests American require other nations to "share more heavily than they do in foreign aid, so that the United States doesn't have to carry the major burden that it's been carrying for much to long."

Both Nixon and Humphrey have endorsed the nuclear-nonproliferation treaty, but while Humphrey urges reduction of American and Soviet missile stockpiles, Nixon supports "major buildup" of missile strength and construction of a "full-scale anti-ballistic-missile system."

Towards establishing racial peace in America, Nixon has realistically called for "imaginative enlistment of private funds, private energies, and private talents in order to develop the opportunities that lie untapped in our own underdeveloped urban heartland." His proposals include: incentives to private industry to make acceptable risks of ghetto development and training the unemployed. Further, by providing technical assistance and loan guarantees, Negroes will be encouraged to start their own businesses and expand existing ones. More generally, Nixon supports open-housing law, like Humphrey, but opposes bussing. More generally, Nixon supports

open-housing law, like Humphrey, but opposes bussing students to encourage school integration.

Nixon sees "law and order" as the primary domestic issue in the '68 campaign. If elected, he would establish a council on the Cabinet-level to coordinate policy on crime, and would create a national academy to train police officers at the local level. He would also authorize federal grants to states for law enforcement. Contributing to increase in street crime, Nixon feels, are the Supreme Court's decisions which are primarily responsible for the arrest, prosecution, conviction, and punishment of only one out of every eight major crimes. Whereas Humphrey defends these recent Supreme Court decisions, Nixon would appoint "strict constructionists" to any court vacancies—men who would permit judges and juries to determine for themselves the validity of any confessions for prosecution.

Finally, Nixon is firmly committed to reversing current trends of burdensome taxation. If government spending can be curbed in a relatively short period of time, Nixon would abolish the 10 per cent surtax. Tax exemptions would be provided for earnings of plants established in ghetto areas, and tax deductions would be made available

for educational and work-training expenses. Further, Nixon hopes to gradually reduce, step-by-step, income taxes on individuals and businesses.

Nixon definitely does not wish to turn the clock back. In a recent radio address, he offered his philosophy of the presidency:

"The day of a passive presidency belong to a simpler past. Let me be very clear about this: the next President must take an activist view of his office. He must articulate the nation's values, define its goals and marshal its will. Under a Nixon Administration, the presidency will be deeply involved in the entire sweep of America's public concerns. The President today cannot stand aside from crisis; he cannot ignore division; he cannot paper over disunity. He must lead."

In an election which is generally conceived to be more "conservative" than of late, ushering and end to the reign of the liberalism of the past 40 years, Nixon will be much closer in philosophy to public sentiment than Humphrey; hence, Nixon could more easily translate proposals into programs under the new Congress. His role will be to unify the country as he has so admirably unified the factions represented in the Republican Party (an accomplishment Mr. Humphrey (Continued on Page 8)

By Bob Creamer

Whose votes does Wallace attract?

What did George Wallace have to say when he came to Durham last week? Well one thing is clear, it was aimed at the "little man"—the man who has gotten very little from this society and often very little from life. It was aimed at laborers and farmers and artisans, and small business men.

George Wallace is the only man running for president who is really addressing those "little men."

Yet those people are not much different from other people. They have their own needs and their own fears. And one of those fears today is competition for jobs and for housing and for schooling with

black people and poor people with whom they have not competed before. They fear a huge bureaucracy they do not understand and do not control, telling them where they must send their children to school and to whom they may sell their house. They search for identity in an increasingly complex society. They want status that transcends machine jobs we have given them.

And then there is George Wallace. Wallace plays upon those fears and that search for identity. He says to the "little man"—you do have status, your better than that "nigger." He calls for an end to

control of "local people" by a government bureaucracy. He tells them that they should not have to compete for jobs and homes with these poor folks who aren't willing to work like "you working people do." Is it any wonder that America's workers respond? For years they've heard "progressives" talk about helping the working man—and for years there has been no basic change. Working people still have little significant power. Working people still have to worry about great insecurity and de-personalization. Why not Wallace?—they ask.

And so, Wallace has them fooled. Fooled by their own fear. For not once does Mr. Wallace mention the wage of the working

man. Not once does Wallace mention unequal distribution of resources in America. Not once does he mention organizing to gain political power in local factories. Not once does Mr. Wallace mention that blacks, and poor whites and the working man all have the same problem of powerlessness.

Wallace is splitting the working men from black men and the students who must join together to turn this nation around. By their own fear he is making them impotent politically to accomplish anything meaningful for themselves. In fact, of course, Wallace cares nothing about the working man. He has stood against unions, for right to work laws, against corporate taxes and for business. He is spreading political

poson to the "little man" in America. He is using this man's fear to gain power for himself—and that is all.

But who is to blame in 1968? Is it the working man in America? The working man has few choices this year. There is Nixon of and for the upper middle class. There is Humphrey and the same old thing. And there is Wallace. Who would you choose if you were a worker with worker's problems?

It is time for us all to realize that we cannot solve the problems of the worker which are the same problems of poor and black American, without radical and rapid action. All of these people suffer from economic deprivation, and lack social and political power. We now have enough material things to go around. We must rapidly and justly reallocate material resources now. We must concern ourselves with the problems of the common man.

That means vast sums for education. It means rebuilding our cities, it means a higher minimum wage, and a minimum income for all people. It means national medical insurance for all Americans.

That means a tax structure that favors the low wage earner—not the entrepreneur. It means federal regulation of big business—including prices. It means a conscientious plan of social investment and an increasing role of the public sector.

The only way to prevent another Wallace phenomenon—the only way to achieve these goals—is to build a movement; a movement with dynamic leadership and organization that is large in scale and begins at the grass-roots level.

Whether or not such a movement emerges depends to a great extent upon the actions of this generation of educated and concerned Americans. That, by the way, is, or should be us.

—Only a fool—

(Continued from Page 4)
that he may be able to beat balloons."

The Democrats fought back. The intellectuals told all mankind that Humphrey was so terrible that they were going to vote for Eldridge Cleaver or Little Orphan Annie. The professionals went around saying, "All right, Humphrey's not much, but if you vote against him you're going to get balloons for President."

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‘Touch of evil’

Schickel blasts Preminger: ‘makes worst production’

By Cheryl Kohl

“What’s new pussycat? I’ll tell you what’s new. Nothing’s sacred anymore, that’s what’s new. Everything’s got to be insy, funsy, hippy, zippy, and, as one of our currently fashionable journalistic word-weavers would have it, everything’s got to go Biff, Bam, Pow, Whoosh, and Zonk.”

On this note, Richard Schickel, Life magazine movie critic and participant in Symposium 1968, opened a caustic review of the Peter Sellers movie.

A film and literary critic, author and editor, Schickel is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. He has been a senior editor of Look and Show magazines and has had articles in periodicals such as Commentary, Harper’s, Esquire, and The Nation.

His book include The Stars (a study of the effect of movie stars and the star system upon American film), Movies: The History of an Art and an Institution, and The Disney Version.

Schickel’s reviews for Life since 1964 have been generally imaginative in language, sensitive in analysis, and perceptive in social comment. However, at times he seems to be too vague in his evaluations. (He bombed The

Graduate and tolerated How to Succeed less than convincing reasons.) His tastes might be called puritanical by some. Of the four-letter words in Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf, he writes:

“To me, by the way, the famous problem of the movie’s frank language turns out to be no problem at all. There is too much genuine excitement present for one even to pay any attention to the four-letter words. I was hardly conscious of their presence.”

Schickel is highly critical of the production abilities of Otto Preminger, another Symposium 1968 participant. He calls Preminger the “grand master of the cinematic snow job.”

Of Preminger’s personal favorite, Hurry Sundown, Schickel writes: “They probably ought to give Otto Preminger some sort of brotherhood award, for he has made a movie about the relationship between the races on which men of good will—and even men of bad will—North and South, white and black, can come together and form a mighty chorus of agreement. Unfortunately, this agreement will be in the realm of aesthetics rather than morality and, more unfortunately still, it will have to be that Hurry Sundown is an execrable film. Indeed, it is very possibly the worst major production to come out of Hollywood in the 1960’s.”

Critical of American films in general, he says “they have almost no art tradition and therefore impose a unique regressive obligation on those who would try to appreciate them at their proper level.” Schickel reviewed Planet of the Apes as the best American movie he had seen so far during the year. “The movie is at least alive.”

Schickel speaks to many topical social questions in his reviews. Of the modern protest movement in a review of Tell Me Lies, he writes: “It is not a rational ideal they seek in these mass movements, but the fulfillment of of psychological gratifications unavailable elsewhere in an overrationalizing society.”

Marshall McLuhan, is deemed by Schickel to be the first pop philosopher. He suggests that McLuhan’s reverence for pre-alphabetic man—his tribal and oral pattern and his inner, responsive life to myth—may create “a new iconography to serve as the basis for a new catholicity, one which will serve modern man as the Church served the men of the Middle Ages.”

Schickel has also written about television. “Today the basic

Humphrey’s chances seen improved by bombing halt

By Tom Wicker

(C) 1968 N.Y. Times News Service
NEW YORK—As many political observers had long expected, President Johnson moved tonight—less than a week before what already appeared to be a close presidential election—to end the bombing of North Vietnam and get down to serious peace negotiations.

But tonight’s announcement may have no more than limited effect on voter behavior next Tuesday.

Even that, however, could be

crucial in a close election and the strongest likelihood is that the bombing cessation will provide something of a plus for Vice President Humphrey, the Democratic candidate.

Humphrey seemed sure to derive some political benefit from a move that Johnson pictured as resulting from “progress” in the Paris talks

a news analysis

and as portending a new and more productive phase of the peace negotiations. Just as Humphrey’s high office in the Johnson administration and his frequent defense of the President’s war policy have been a political liability for the vice president, public approval of the bombing halt now extend to Humphrey’s candidacy.

But since Johnson’s announcement came so late in the campaign that the minds of most voters are believed to be made up, the bombing cessation appeared unlikely to cause any huge shift in voter sentiment.

But even a small gain for Humphrey in the key states might become important if, as recent polls have suggested, the vice president is closing the wide gap that once appeared to exist between him and

Nixon.

In “battleground states” like New York (43 electoral votes), Pennsylvania (29) and Michigan (21), all of which are believed by political analysts and poll-takers to be closely contested, shifts of a relatively few voters to Humphrey from Nixon, or more probably from the undecided column, could throw these large blocs of electoral votes and possibly the election, to the vice president.

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SU presents Touch of Evil

The 16mm. film series will show “Touch of Evil” and “Schmeerguntz” Friday night at 8:00 in the Bio Sci Auditorium.

“Touch of Evil”—an emotional, highly-charged dramam about police brutality and corrupt tactics in a Mexican border town—is directed by and stars Orson Welles, featuring Chrlton Heston, Janet Leigh, and Marlene Dietrich. Welles’ portrayal of the chief of police is magnificent and his cinematic technique lives up to all expectations. Welles again proves his mastery of sound montage, unusual camera angles, use of the depth of black and white.

“Schmeerguntz” is a short, underground film directed by Guvnor Nelson and Dorothy Wiley—the wives of experimentalists. “Schmeerguntz” is a comment on the American housewife—a brash, brazen bit of humor designed to reach the soul of every member of middle-class Americana. “Schmeerguntz” is one long raucous belch in the face of the American home.”

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Grid picks for ACC, other top games

By David Pace

Here are the predictions of the games in which other ACC teams are involved this week, plus other top games in the country.

UNC over AIR FORCE: The Tar Heels come into the game after two superb performances against Florida and Wake Forest. Look for Gayle Bomar to have another good afternoon against the Falcons after last week's 438 yard performance against Wake's fine defensive team.

VIRGINIA over USC: Frank Quayle and company should prove to be too much for the Gamecocks hapless defense. South Carolina should be up for the game, however, since they have never lost to Virginia under present Head Coach Paul Dietzel. A hometown crowd should give the Cavaliers the edge.

WAKE FOREST over MARYLAND: The Deacons started their late season express rolling last week against UNC, and should have no trouble picking up momentum against Maryland. Freddie Summers will give the Terps defense more than they bargained for, while the Deacons should have little trouble with Maryland's inconsistent offense.

CLEMSON over N.C. STATE: Frank Howard is not known for losing seasons at Clemson, and if he is to avert one this year, the Tigers will have to win this one. In this, the most important ACC game of the year for both teams, Clemson's defense will live up to its pre-season pick as the best in the ACC, and the Tigers will squeeze by to take the game and, eventually, the ACC title for an unprecedented third straight year. Look for a low-scoring contest.

HARVARD over PENN: The Crimson will burst the Quakers bubble in this game of unbeaten Ivy League powers. Penn, of course, has been proving everyone wrong all season and could easily do so again tomorrow. Harvard, however, is much stronger than anyone Penn has played this season, and a win here would probably give them the momentum necessary in their upcoming battle with Yale for the Ivy league title.

AUBURN over FLORIDA: Auburn shocked nationally rated Miami last week 31-6 and should have the momentum to make it two in a row.



The much beleaguered Duke defensive secondary will be even more pressured this weekend when they face Georgia Tech as a result of the loss of both safety Larry Davis (no. 15 right) and cornerback Phil Singer (no. 29 left). Davis, who was listed on reserve status with the Army was called up this week. He will not be allowed to finish the semester and will not be able to participate in tomorrow's game or any other games this year. Singer injured his knee against Army and was operated on this week. He, too, will be out for the rest of the season. John Cappellano (no. 21), an offensive tailback may be switched to defense for Tech to replace Davis. These circumstances will be complicated by the fact that Tech is mainly a passing team.

HHH narrows Nixon lead

(C) Louis Harris Poll, 1968
By Louis Harris

In a survey taken with just over a week to go in the race for President, Richard Nixon led Hubert Humphrey 40 to 37%, with George Wallace receiving 16% of the vote and 7% still undecided. These latest results mark a 2-point gain for Humphrey in a two-week period and a 5-point gain since the middle of September.

Here is the trend in the presidential race since June:

	Trial Heat Trend				
	N	H	W	N/S	%
Oct. 27-28	40	37	16	7	%
Oct. 9-11	40	35	18	7	%
Sept. 11-13	39	31	21	9	%
Aug. 24	40	34	17	9	%
July 25-29	36	41	16	7	%
July 6-11	35	37	17	11	%
June 11-16	36	43	13	8	%

The nationwide percentage gap between the two major-party candidates has thus narrowed within the statistical margin of error, 3 to 4 points, for public opinion polls using probability samples of this size—1,675 likely voters were interviewed in 330 points across the country during October 27-28.

Behind the overall trend are these significant patterns:

Nixon continued to lead in all regions outside the South. He led Humphrey 42 to 40% in the East, with Wallace at 8%. In the Midwest, Nixon had 45% to Humphrey's 39%, with Wallace at 11%. In the West, Nixon had 45%, Humphrey 37% and Wallace 12%.

The key question about this election is not answered in an analysis of the national or even the regional popular vote. The President will be elected on a state-by-state basis with the electoral college. With just over a week to go, the latest Harris Survey results suggest the possibility of Nixon just edging out an electoral college majority. But if Humphrey were to gain another 2 or 3 points in the final week, he could pass Nixon in the East and close enough in the Midwest to deny the Republican nominee an electoral majority.

Wallace showed real signs of slippage outside the South. He continued to lead in his home region with 34%, compared with Nixon and Humphrey both at 30% of the vote.

Wallace's sharpest drop has been among trade-union members in the North. Compared with his high of 27% in early September, he had slipped last weekend to 17% of the union vote. The number of people who regarded Wallace as a "racist, stirring up trouble" jumped from 41% in September to 45% in early October to 53% in late October.

While Nixon's overall national percentages had not changed appreciably since late August, significant shifts were taking place among key groups. Nixon was gaining on Humphrey among low-income groups, while the Wallace vote remained static there. Among Catholics, Nixon rather than Humphrey appeared to be the beneficiary of the Wallace slippage.

For the first time in this campaign, Humphrey was beginning to score real gains at Nixon's expense among young voters, the college-educated and independents. His average net gain among these groups was 7 points in two weeks. Prior to the conventions, these segments of the electorate heavily favored Gov. Nelson Rockefeller or Sen. Eugene McCarthy for President.

Probably the most dramatic shift has been Humphrey's ability to close the "Confidence gap" which has existed between him and Nixon throughout the campaign. In August, when Humphrey trailed by 6 points in the vote, he was 8 points back of Nixon as a man who would "inspire confidence personally in the White House."

In September, when 8 points behind in the vote, Humphrey lagged 12 points behind Nixon on confidence. In early October, when 5 points behind in the vote, Humphrey was 3 points back of Nixon on the personal-confidence dimension. On Oct. 27-28, when 3 points back of Nixon on the vote, Humphrey trailed the GOP nominee by only a single point in confidence rating.

President Johnson's late entry into the campaign could be helping rather than hurting Humphrey. Mr. Johnson's positive ratings as President rose to 48% in late October, up from 45% in early October and up from his low of 38% positive. The number of voters who do not like Humphrey for being "too close to President Johnson and his policies" have dwindled from 51% in September to 48% in early October to 43% in this latest survey.

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Viet bombing has long history

By Bernard Gwertzman

(C) N.Y. Times News Service

Washington—In the summer of 1964, unknown to the American public, President Johnson was told by his top military, diplomatic and intelligence advisers that unless the United States took decisive military action to bolster South Vietnam, the Saigon government probably would collapse, permitting the Communists to take over.

The bleak forecast was made during the presidential campaign. When Johnson was telling the nation that "I want to be very cautious when I start dropping bombs around that are likely to involve American boys in a war in Asia with 700 million Chinese."

Johnson's words were clearly aimed at defeating the Republican candidate Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona who was advocating the bombing of North Vietnam. Johnson won the election handily but his advisers continued to tell him that South Vietnam was in dire need of help.

There had been an air raid against North Vietnamese naval bases in August of that year in retaliation for the attacks on two United States destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin, but that was an isolated raid and the Air Force and Navy were still restricted to bombing targets in South Vietnam.

In mid-November, shortly after the election, Johnson appointed William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, to head an inter-agency committee to make recommendations on bombing.

By early December, again without the public's knowing about it, the decision was made on a contingency basis, to bomb North Vietnam.

The contingency was that if the military situation in South Vietnam did not improve, bombing should be undertaken.

In early February of 1965, Johnson sent Bundy's brother, McGeorge Bundy, the White House special assistant on national security affairs, to make an on-the-spot recommendation on whether to bomb the north.

Bundy's decision was made easier for him when, on Feb. 7, Vietcong forces mounted four early morning attacks, two of them at United States bases in Pleiku in the central highlands. Eight Americans were killed and more than a 100 wounded. Bundy after visiting the men in the hospital, cabled his recommendation for the bombing to begin.

The next morning, it was announced that U.S. bombers had attacked North Vietnam in retaliation for the Pleiku incidents. At first the raids came in retaliation for enemy attacks. But on Feb. 17, Johnson told a group of businessmen that "our continuing actions will be those which are justified and those that are made necessary by the continuing

aggression of others.

Thus, the raids became a regular part of the war effort.

Robert S. McNamara, who was Secretary of Defense defended the raids as necessary to bolster South Vietnam's morale, make the war more costly for the North Vietnamese, and cut down on infiltration from the North.

Left unsaid was the view within the administration that the raids were a possible bargaining point for negotiations to get North Vietnam to end its actions in South Vietnam.

At first the raids were supported by such future doves as Sen. J.W. Fulbright, D. Ark., who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He said that he thought the raids would succeed in ending the war in about six weeks.

But the raids did not break North Vietnam's will to fight, and led to strong statements of support for Hanoi from Communist China and the Soviet Union. Moscow was particularly angry because the first bombs fell while premier Aleksei N. Kosygin was in Hanoi.

The threat of the entry of China and the Soviet Union into the war led many Americans and foreigners to argue that the bombing policy might lead to a world war. Others felt that the U.S. was not justified in bombing another country.

Partly as the result of the public outcry against the bombing including the advent of teach-ins on Vietnam, the Administration stopped the raids for five days in 1965, from May 13 to 17, and sent a note to North Vietnam through its Moscow Embassy, saying the pause could be extended if North Vietnam would make some reciprocal act of de-escalation. The note was rejected.

During the summer of 1965, Soviet and East European diplomats told the U.S. that Hanoi would respond to a lengthy halt in the raids—that the May pause was too short.

On Dec. 24, Johnson decided on a more prolonged pause—one that lasted 37 days. During that time special envoys were sent to 34 capitals urging them to use their good offices to get North Vietnam to respond.

But Hanoi refused to make any concessions, and the raids were resumed on Jan. 30, 1966.

That was the last significant total cessation in the raids.

There were further pauses from Dec. 24 to 26, 1966, and from Dec. 31, 1966 to Jan. 2, 1967. But those holiday interruptions were more humanitarian than political, and no important effort was made to translate them into longer halts.

From Feb 8-12, 1967, the raids were stopped, partly for the Vietnamese New Year and also because Premier Kosygin was in London discussing possible peace moves with Prime Minister Wilson.

The bombers were grounded again during the Christmas and new year seasons of 1967-68, but a halt planned for the Vietnamese New Year in late January of this year was called off because of an enemy offensive against Saigon and other cities in South Vietnam.

On March 31 of this year, Johnson announced that he was ordering a curtailment of U.S. bombing over most of North Vietnam. The restrictions eliminated as target areas about 78 per cent of the countryside, where about 90 per cent of the people live.

It was disclosed two days later that the area above the 20th parallel was what Johnson had in mind. This was subsequently compressed in practice to the area about the 19th parallel.

Johnson said all the bombing could be halted if Hanoi would show some reciprocal restraint.

The bombing policy was always a source of controversy.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff argued that the bombing could bring Hanoi "to its knees" were it not for restriction that barred attacks.

In December, 1966, the Air Force and Navy were authorized to hit rail and storage yards on the outskirts of Hanoi. This, in turn, led to later charges for direct negotiations with North Vietnam.

In the fall of 1966, U.S. officials had agreed to direct talks with the North Vietnamese, with the Italian and Polish governments working as intermediaries.

The Polish Government told the U.S. that talks were virtually set up in Warsaw for December, 1966, but these plans fell through.

The poles later said that the North Vietnamese refused to talk after the bombs fell near Hanoi. The U.S. Government never confirmed this story.

The bombing led to sharp argument within the

Administration. George W. Ball, now an adviser to Vice President Humphrey, was the leading critic of the bombing when he served as Under Secretary of State.

Arthur J. Goldberg also argued privately within the Administration for a bombing halt when he was the permanent representative at the United Nations.

North Vietnam never deviated publicly from its stand that there could be no movement toward peace until the bombing was stopped unconditionally and permanently.

Hanoi altered its position somewhat in April of this year when it agreed to send representatives to Paris to talk with U.S. officials. But North Vietnam always insisted that its representatives were in Paris to "determine with the U.S. an arrangement for the complete and unconditional end to the bombing.

W. Averell Harriman, the chief U.S. negotiator in Paris, told Johnson in July that he did not believe there could be any progress

at the Paris talks unless the decision was made to stop the bombing.

After intensive discussion within the Administration, Harriman's proposal was turned down. But in late September, Cyrus R. Vance, the deputy negotiator, came back to Washington and is reported to have succeeded in winning from the President permission for the U.S. negotiators to suggest a flexible formula to the North Vietnamese that would include a bombing halt in return for some evidence that such an action would move the Paris talks along and not lead to a worsening of the military situation.



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Nixon

(Continued from Page 4)

has not yet demonstrated within the Democratic Party).

Richard Nixon's appeal to the country in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in August, 1968, rings forth loud and clear:

"The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn—a new day for America, a new dawn for peace and freedom in the world."