Thanking Nasser for his "readiness to cooperate" with Jarring, Mr. Johnson said that while Jarring "is able to organize a serious discussion of substantive issues, it should be possible for the United States and other interested nations from their dumbfounded interest of a just and durable peace in accordance with the [Security Council] resolution of Nov. 22, 1967.

The President said that his decision not to seek another term was based on the belief that such an effort to do more in this advanced cause of peace in the Middle East as well as in Vietnam."

Arabs Accept West-Bank Crops. The Arab Conference for the Boycott of Israel, meeting in Shtaura, Lebanon May 25-June 8, agreed June 8 to permit agricultural products from the Israeli-occupied west bank of the Jordan River to enter Arab countries. The conference, however, barred the entry of industrial products from the west bank because most of such products originated in Israel.

South Yemen Revolt Crushed. A rebellion broke out in southern Yemen May 13, but the government announced May 16 that the revolt had been crushed. [See p. 139c-3]

The rebels, identified as dissident elements of the ruling National Liberation Front (NLF), initially seized the towns of Jaar, Abyan and Suqra, about 50 miles east of Aden. An announcement of the uprising was made May 14 by Pres. Qaisun Mubarak Shaibi. He reported a "full-fledged rebellion" led by 5 NLF members and said that heavy casualties were suffered in savage fighting between government forces and the rebels. Al-Shaibi said the rebels had arrested many government officials and leaders. NLF members had established headquarters in Jaar.

An NLF statement May 15 said "opportunistic" front members had fomented the revolt by taking advantage of intra-party differences existing since the split from the Yemeni government. The "opportunists" were accused of carrying out acts against the people, including nationalization moves that damaged the economy.

Rhodesia

UN Bans Trade & Travel. The UN Security Council May 29 unanimously approved a resolution urging all UN members to impose a total embargo on all trade and financial relations with Rhodesia in a further move to isolate the white minority government of Premier Ian D. Smith. [See p. 189pr2]

The ban exempted "humanitarian" matters as medical supplies and pension payments. The section dealing with the travel ban urged all UN members to prevent their citizens from traveling to Rhodesia and to refuse to recognize passports issued by the Rhodesian government. The resolution also provided for the establishment of a Security Council committee to enforce the embargo.

The trade ban was an extension of one adopted by the Security Council in Dec. 1966; it had barred the sale of oil to Rhodesia and the purchase of Rhodesia's 9 principal export items. The May 29 resolution was a compromise between the objections of a stronger one submitted by Algeria, Pakistan, India and Senegal. The latter resolution had called for the employment of force to topple Premier Smith's government. Arguing against the use of force, British delegate Lord Caradon said that maintaining a policy of economic sanctions would not solve the problem and that their rebellion could lead to nowhere but to economic stagnation and political isolation.

(U.S. ex-State Secy. Dean Acheson said May 24 that Britain and the U.S. had plotted to overthrow the Rhodesian government in a conspiracy "blessed by the United Nations." Speaking to a section of the American Bar Association in Washington, Acheson held that Rhodesia had done the U.S. no harm "and threatens no one." The disapproving majority of racial representation in Rhodesia was a matter relating solely to the internal affairs of Rhodesia—in which the United Nations was forbidden by its charter to meddle—Acheson asserted. He decried the UN finding that "a situation which threatened the peace" had been created by Rhodesia's "assumption...of the separate and equal status to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitled her." Acheson said that "this highly theoretical... threat was not posed by Rhodesia but against him and his purpose in the world economy."

Acheson was particularly critical of the UN Security Council resolutions imposing economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Such punishment, he charged, was tantamount to "barefaced aggression, unprovoked and unjustified by a single legal or moral principle." U.S. Amb. to UN Arthur J. Goldberg later commented to newsmen that Acheson's statement was "sheer nonsense."

Latin America

OAS Head Installed. Galo Plaza Lasso, 62, was installed May 18 as the secretary general of the Organization of American States (OAS), Plaza, a former president of Ecuador, replaced Josi Anonio Mora, 70, of Uruguay. El Salvador's Miguel Rafael Urquiza succeeded William Sanders of the U.S. as assistant secretary general. [See p. 77a-D2]

At his inauguration, held at the Pan American Union Building in Washington, Plaza declared: The Alliance for Progress "must be revitalized and its initial defects frankly acknowledged." "It is no longer a matter of determining what our countries need. We already know that. It is a question of taking practical measures to speed up the execution of the principal projects. The Alliance for Progress will continue to be doubted if the fallacy that this is a bilateral action is allowed to persist. As a matter of dignity, the concept of donation must be destroyed and cast out from the hemisphere." The OAS must play a decisive role in Latin American economic integration and must recover the confidence of Latin America by helping correct disadvantageous trade and financing conditions. Unity in Latin America would facilitate the area's negotiations with the U.S.

Development in Danger. The 7-member Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) warned May 4 that world trade, financial and monetary trends were working against Latin American economic development. CIAP, ending its 15th working meeting in Washington, concluded that the current time "appears to be a decisive, perhaps critical, point in Latin American integration, requiring directional changes and a more intense action both in the field of trade negotiations and in that of carrying out investments which should facilitate and promote integration."

CIAP called on Alliance member governments to take these steps:

- Attempt to identify the potential for new exports
- Take joint action to develop Latin America's physical infrastructure (surface and air transport, power and telecommunications systems)
- Study the creation of a "system which will enable the Latin American countries to enjoy, with respect to the Democratic Republics, the presently enjoyed by other developing regions..."

CIAP said Latin American development had been retarded by the results of the Kennedy Round of GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade] and the 2d UN Conference on Trade & Development (UNCTAD II). The U.S. balance-of-payments problem, the world liquidity crisis, trends in world trade and capital flows and the growth of protectionist attitudes in the U.S. were also blamed for the stagnation in Latin American economic expansion.

- Push a regional program to finance buffer stocks of Latin American export commodities until a similar global program was set up by UNCTAD.

- Have the Inter-American Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction & Development (World Bank) and the U.S. Agency for International Development establish a system for subsidizing interest rates; governmental and international financing agencies should consult with CIAP to find ways for stretching out debt repayment schedules for their loans.

(CIAP noted that Latin America currently spent more than $2 billion annually, or nearly 20% of its export earnings, for external debt financing.) [See p. 182D1]
June 5. He died June 6. The suspected assassin, later identified as Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, 24, a Jordanian Arab who had lived in the Los Angeles area for 11 years, was seen immediately at the scene of the crime.

Kennedy was shot shortly after leaving a rally in celebration of his victory in the California Presidential primary. The tragedy brought the Presidential campaign to a temporary but complete standstill.

The Senator was gunned down less than 5 years after the assassination of his older brother, Pres. John F. Kennedy, and only 2 months after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As a shock wave of sorrow, shame and indignation engulfed the nation, Pres. Johnson, expressing the grief of his countrymen, announced that he was creating a special commission of distinguished citizens to study violence in the U.S. with a view to finding out how to stop it.

The attack occurred at about 12:16 a.m. PDT June 5, about 3 minutes after Kennedy left the victory rally in the Ambassador Hotel. In the press of a happy throng, Kennedy entered a kitchen passageway en route to a press conference scheduled to follow in his room. As the Senator shook hands with the kitchen workers, his assassin, standing about 5 feet away, suddenly opened fire with a .22-caliber pistol. 8 shots were fired, and Kennedy fell to the floor, hit in the head by one bullet and in the back of the right arm by another. No other persons were wounded, none fatally, by the shots.

Kennedy reportedly expressed concern for others as he lay on the floor. He said "Oh no, no, don't!" or "Don't lift me, don't lift me" when placed on a stretcher at about 12:30 a.m. These were his last words. Accompanied by his wife, Ethel, who was with him when he was shot, and campaign aide Fred Dutton, Kennedy was rushed by ambulance first to Central Receiving Hospital, where Dr. Vasilius F. Bazilaiuskas reported later that Ken- nedy was "in custo"—as he put it, "in deep, deep shock, not breathing, with little blood pressure and practically pulseless.

After external heart massage, adrenal in and use of a heart-lung machine, Kennedy revived slightly. The dying man was then speeded to the better-equipped Good Samaritan Hospital, where a team of sur- geons worked for almost 4 hours to re- move bullet fragments from his brain. The fatal bullet had entered the cerebel- lum after penetrating the mastoid bone behind the right ear. The surgical team was led by Dr. Henry M. Cuneo of the University of Southern California As- sistants included Dr. Nat D. Reid of USC and Dr. Maxwell M. Andler of UCLA.

After surgery, Kennedy's condition was described first as "extremely critical," then "critically ill" and eventually "extremely critical as to life." Kennedy's personal secre- tary Frank Mankiewicz announced a minute before 2:00 a.m. June 6 that Kennedy had died at 1:44 a.m.

(A preliminary autopsy report June 6 revealed "extensive injury" to the brain, penetration by bullet fragments of the

cerebrum and damage to the cerebellar artery. The coroners removed from the back of the lower neck a bullet that had not been considered a major problem during the Pres. Kennedy's examination.

(The others wounded in the Kennedy at- tack, all recovering in hospitals, were: Paul Schrade, 43, a regional director of the United Auto Workers and Kennedy campaigner, who underwent surgery for removal of a bullet from his skull; Witta Weissman, 30, who had a bullet removed from his abdomen; Ira Goldstein, 19, of Encino, Calif., an employee of a news service, struck in the hip; Mrs. Elizabeth Evans, 43, of Sangus, Los Angeles County, injured in the scalp; Irwin Stroll, 17, struck in the calf.)

Seized, Sirhan, an unemployed clerk, resident alien and Christian Arab, was seized with a revolver in his hand moments after Kennedy was shot. Roosevelt Grier, 257-pound defensive tackle for the Los Angeles Rams football team, wrestled the gun—a snub nose .22- caliber Iver Johnson Cadet model—from the suspect while Kennedy lay on the floor bleeding. Ray Johnson, decathlon champion of the 1960 Olympic Games, and William Barry, a Kennedy body- guard, recovered the gun when it fell to the floor. Johnson, Grier and a teammate of Grier's, 260-pound Deacon Jones, had been accompanying Kennedy throughout his California campaign to protect him and clear paths for him through the crowds.

Grier sought to save the suspect from assault by the crowd until Los Angeles policemen carried the prisoner out by his arms and legs.

The then-unidentified suspect, refusing to give police any information about him- self, was arraigned at 7 a.m. June 5 in municipal court as "John Doe." He was charged, in a complaint by District Atty. Evelle Younger, with 6 counts of assault with intent to murder. He was repre- sented by chief public defender Richard St. Hubery of Los Angeles.

Sirhan, 24, an unemployed electrical engineer and student at the University of Southern California, was arraigned at 7:30 a.m. June 5 in municipal court as "John Doe." He was arraigned, in a complaint by District Atty. Evelle Younger, with 6 counts of assault with intent to murder. He was represented by chief public defender Richard St. Hubery of Los Angeles.

Sirhan was interrogated by police at the police station and then was transferred to jail. The charge was assault with intent to murder. Sirhan was arraigned at 7:30 a.m. June 5 in municipal court as "John Doe." He was arraigned, in a complaint by District Atty. Evelle Younger, with 6 counts of assault with intent to murder. He was represented by chief public defender Richard St. Hubery of Los Angeles.

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condemned "this criminal act committed against an outstanding American leader and public servant." Condemnation of the assassination was also expressed in a message written in the book of condolences at the U.S. embassy in Amman on June 8 by Premier Bahija al-Talhouni.

- President Mourns. Pres. Johnson, grieved and dismayed, pleaded with Americans "not to put an end to violence and to the preaching of violence." On hearing of the shooting, the President had said there were "no words equal to the horror of this tragedy." He ordered Secret Service protection for all the announced Presidential candidates of major parties. (Authorizing legislation for such protection was passed immediately by Congress June 6 and signed by the President a few hours later.)

In a TV broadcast the evening of June 5, Mr. Johnson announced his conclusion of examination to "examine this tragic phenomenon" of violence in the nation's life. It would be "wrong" to "conclude from this act that our country is sick," and had lost "its common decency," he said. But the murders of John and Robert Kennedy and of Martin Luther King gave "ample warning that in a climate of extremism, of disrespect for law, of contempt for the rights of others, violence may bring down the very best among us." "Let us, for God's sake, resolve to live under the law," he urged. "Let the Congress pass laws to stop the increased threats to our nation and the people who have suffered grievously from violence and assassinations...."

The President deplored the brutal interruption of Robert Kennedy's "brilliant career." He extolled the Senator as "a young leader of uncommon energy and dedication who has served his country tirelessly and well and whose voice and examples... touched millions throughout the entire world.

- After Kennedy's death June 6, Mr. Johnson proclaimed June 9 a day of national mourning and directed that the U.S. flag be flown half-staff on all federal property. "Our public life is diminished by his loss," he said. In a TV broadcast June 6, the President read the June 5 statement in which he had called on Congress, "in the name of sanity, in the name of safety—and in the name of an aroused nation—to give America the gun control law it needs." He said "the terrible toll inflicted on our people by firearms—750,000 Americans dead since the war—...and a good many more than have died at the hands of all of our enemies in all of the wars that we have fought." [See p. 231F2-B3]

The President appointed the following citizens as members of the commission to probe the violence in the U.S.: Milton Eisenhower, ex-president of Johns Hopkins University; Archbishop Terence J. Cooke of New York; attorney Albert Jenner of Chicago; ex-Amb.-to-Luxembourg Patricia Harris, philosopher-long-time friend of John Hope Franklin, 2003; Philip Hart (D., Mich.) and Roman L. Hruska (R., Neb.); Reps. Hale Boggs (D., La.) and William M. McCulloch (R., O.); and U.S. Judge Leon Higginbotham.

- Mourning & Burial. Sen. Kennedy's body was flown by Presidential jet to New York June 6. Passengers who accompanied the body included his widow, Ethel, pregnant with their 11th child, 3 of his children, his brother, Edward; his sisters, Patricia (Mrs. Pat Lawford) and Jean (Mrs. Stephen Smith); his sister-in-law Mrs. John F. Kennedy, widow of the assassinated President; Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., widow of the murdered civil rights leader; Charles Evers, brother of the slain Mississippi Negro leader Medgar Evers of Mississippi.

The body was then brought to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where it lay in state from 5:30 a.m. June 7 until 5 a.m. June 8. Thousands of persons quietly queued up to enter the cathedral and pass by the closed coffin lining each side by side with persons standing vigil (more than 600 persons participated in the vigil). The queue stretched for more than a mile, and those in it endured a 5-hour wait. Police estimated that 150,000 persons filed past the bier in 24-1/2 hours.

- During a requiem mass June 8, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy delivered an eulogy in a strong but at times quivering voice. "My brother need not be idealized or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life," the Senator declared. "He should be remembered simply as a good and decent man, someone who was true and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it... As he said many times, in many parts of this nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him. "Some men see things as they are and say why. I dream things that never were and say why not."


After the mass, the body was brought by motorcade to New York's Pennsylvania Station, then in a 21-car funeral train to Washington. The rail trip, delayed by crowds (a crowd of 5,000 in Baltimore sang The Battle Hymn of the Republic as the train slowly passed) took 8 hours, 6 minutes and arrived 4 1/2 hours late. (There were further tragic incidents along the way: as the train passed Elizabeth, N.J., a man and a woman, part of the crowd spilling over onto other tracks, were killed when a New York-bound express train in Trenton, a youth watching from a boxcar was burned critically by a live wire.)

The burial took place under floodlights late June 8 at Arlington National Cemetery near the grave of Pres. John F. Kennedy, Pres. and Mrs. Johnson, meeting the train on its arrival, attended the interment service, which ended at 10:45 p.m.

On the day of national mourning, June 9, private services were conducted at the White House by the Rev. Billy Graham; and thousands of people visited the graves of the Kennedy brothers.

- Ples vs. Violence. Many prominent Americans made public pleas against the increasing violence in American life. Among the statements made: Milton S. Eisenhower, chairman of the new Presidential Commission on Violence, June 6 (in a Kent State University commencement speech)—"Apathy is being replaced by mass protest," which "too often... becomes the unruly mob which senselessly defies laws and rules and contemptuously destroys values essential to a civilized orderly society and stimulates the individual's desire for mass possession to murder." "It is but a short step from licentiousness and persistent violence to anarchy, and the... almost inevitable cure for anarchy is dictatorship, of the right or the left." As never before in our history, we need... change in our objectives, critically and creatively within a moral framework; we need... a new breed of Americans who will devote as much time and energy to being wise, democratic citizens as they do to being good physicians, engineers, historians, etc.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., June 5 (at commencement exercises at N.Y. City University)—The shooting of Robert Kennedy raised the question: "What sort of people are we, the Americans?" The answer: "We are today the most frightened people on this planet... The atrocities we commit trouble so little our official self-righteousness, our invincible conviction of our moral infallibility. Americans must realize "that the evil is in us, that it springs from some dark, intolerable tendency and not from external situations." "It is almost as if a primal curse had been fixed on our nation, perhaps when we first began the practice of killing and enslaving those whom we deemed our inferiors because their skin was another color." "We must uncover the roots of hatred and violence and, through self-knowledge, move toward self-control."

Archbishop Terence J. Cooke, member of the Commission on Violence, June 6—"It is impossible for our country to survive if we are subjected to the type of violence we've been subjected to over the past few months." But the country "has much to hope for" if its people would unite in the spirit of hope and optimism exemplified by Sen. Kennedy. "I don't despair about America at all." "I have great faith that Robert Kennedy did. I don't think he would have wanted his followers to despair..."

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R., N.Y.) June 6—"I don't think the whole American society needs to feel guilty. Let's not be frightened by guilt. Let's not be frightened by hate. Let's move forward..."
in love." Public officials and political candidates must "not be intimidated" by the assassination. If they could no longer mingle with crowds, "then we've lost one of the greatest resources of this great land of ours—freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of the individual to go and be with the people. This is essential for a democracy. I have faith in this country. I have faith in people. And I have no fear.

Gov. Ronald Reagan (R., Calif.) June 5—"This nation can no longer tolerate the spirit of permissiveness that pervades our courts and other institutions." The attitude "that says a man can choose the laws he will obey and that he can take the law into his own hands for a cause that crime does not necessarily mean punishment... has been spurred by demagogic and irresponsible words of so-called leaders in and out of public office, and it has been helped along by some in places of authority who are fearful of the wrong but timid about standing for what is right. In so doing they have thrown our nation into chaos and confusion and have bred a climate that permits this ultimate tragedy." "This is not a sick society but a society that is sick of what has been going on in this nation."

Foreign Reaction. Among international reactions to the shooting and death of Sen. Kennedy is—Pope Paul VI, informing a throng of worshipers in front of St. Peter's Basilica that Kennedy had been shot, called for a "common proposal to ban the methods of violence, of dissent, of battle and of crime." "We deplore this new manifestation of violence and terror," the pope said.

Izvestia, the Soviet government newspaper, declared—"A cancer of violence is eating away at the organism of capitalist society. Violence is innate to imperialism. For Washington, international boundaries have been transformed into the law of the mailed fist. For Washington, democratic freedom has been transformed into freedom to murder anyone with different opinions. American society, acting abroad like an international gangster, is degenerating more and more into a gangster within its own borders."

Le Soir, Belgium's largest newspaper, asserted that it was difficult not to believe that a "sinister conspiracy has been mounted systematically against the most liberal elements of the U.S. by a kind of mafia of killers and having resort to powerful protection."

The British Broadcasting Corp. delivered a morning prayer that said—"We pray for the American people that they may come to their senses."

Add. The UN flag flew at half-staff in front of the UN building in New York. Normally such a tribute was paid only when chiefs of state or high UN dignitaries died.

UN Secy. Gen. U Thant said—"I admired his courage, his energy, his clearness of mind, his wit and warmth. He was passionately interested in the great aims for which we strive in the United Nations. His death is an incalculable loss to the world community."

Queen Elizabeth of Britain said she was "shocked and distressed by the tragic death" of Sen. Kennedy. British Prime Min. Harold Wilson expressed feelings of "horror and sorrow" at this "sad time."

French Pres. Charles de Gaulle said that "the drama which has just dismayed the U.S. and hereafter the Kennedy family deeply saddens all Frenchmen."

Canadian Prime Min. Pierre Elliott Trudeau said—"He worked for the underprivileged and for those who were in distress. His death is a blow to all of us, but we will try to continue working for the values for which he stood."

Indian Prime Min. Indira Gandhi said—"A man of great energy and high idealism has been struck down... on the threshold of a bright new phase in his career. Memories of Pres. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King are poignantlly fresh in our minds. Each such violent act strikes a blow at the very foundations of democracy and civilization."

Yugoslav Pres. Tito declared that "the tragic death of Sen. Kennedy represents an irreparable loss for the American people and peace in the world."

June 7—The UN General Assembly observed a moment of silence in tribute to Kennedy after a short eulogy delivered by Assembly Pres. Corneliu Mănescu of Romania.

Peking radio reported Sen. Kennedy's death for the first time and asserted that the assassination was "another proof that U.S. imperialism's political and economic crises have been deepened."

Swedish Premier Tage Erlander said—"Robert Kennedy realized more clearly than most the tension at the bottom of the difficulties in the U.S. Therefore, he worked to even out the differences between rich and poor, white and colored. Millions of people outside his own country believe Robert Kennedy is dead, but we must never cease to believe in the ideals he fought for."

Politics

California Primary. Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated just after he had won California's Democratic Presidential primary June 4 and the state's 172 Democratic National Convention delegate votes. Kennedy received 46% of the total Democratic vote. Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.) received 42%. A 3d slate of delegates, headed by state Atty. Gen. Thomas C. Lynch, received 12%. The Lynch slate included supporters of both Senators and of Vice Pres. Humphrey.

Kennedy's victory was attributed to an overwhelming vote for him from minority groups—Negroes and Mexican-Americans—and from labor. He received large pluralities in the Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento areas to overcome the statewide strength shown by McCarthy, who won more counties than Kennedy.

In the Republican primary, Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel, a liberal Republican, 15-year veteran of the Senate and its GOP whip, was defeated in his renomination bid by Dr. Mickey Rafferty, a conservative, the state superintendent of public instruction. Rafferty polled 50% of the GOP vote, Kuchel 47%. Gov. Ronald Reagan, unopposed in the Republican Presidential primary, won as a favorite son candidate, but his total vote fell below the total in the Senate Republican primary.

The Democratic Presidential campaign featured a TV "debate" between Kennedy and McCarthy over the ABC network June 1. An informal roundtable format was played for the confrontation. Each candidate answered questions posed by 3 ABC reporters—William H. Lawrence, Frank Reynolds and Robert Clark—and was given a chance to comment on the other's answers. Both candidates appeared composed and were polite, even complimentary, to each other. There were points of difference in their answers, but they seemed more in agreement than in disagreement on most issues. Observers concluded that neither had won a clear-cut victory in the confrontation.

A among highlights of the debate:

■ McCarthy advocated "a new Bill of Rights" featuring a massive housing program for ghetto dwellers, some dispersal from ghettos and interm programs "if there is a threat of violence before we get around to doing the things that have to be done," aimed only at improving the ghetto might produce "a kind of apartheid," he said. "We need to get a distribution of the races throughout our society."

■ McCarthy favored "moving people out of the ghetto" but said: "We have to do something for them there." "When you say you are going to take 10,000 black people and move them into Orange County, putting them in suburbs where they can't afford the housing, where their children can't keep up with the schools, and who have the jobs, it's just going to be catastrophic. I don't want to have them moved."

■ Both opposed further military escalation in Vietnam and both opposed U.S. bombing of the North. McCarthy favored the formation of a new government in the South and the acknowledgment that the government would include the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong. He said the Administration should publicize its acceptance of such a coalition government in the South. Kennedy rejected McCarthy's proposal to form a coalition government "even before we begin the negotiations."

■ McCarthy denied that he had said he "was going to force a coalition government.... I said we should make sure we are willing to talk about it until the Vietnamese want to continue the fighting." (In a panel discussion on KRON-TV in San Francisco June 2, McCarthy said: "He [Kennedy] said he wouldn't force a coalition. I feel that, directly or indirectly, that's what we have to do.");