

Subjects: war, peace on earth

This is a special issue on War and Peace. In as much detail as possible, we have treated the reality of war in Vietnam, the Middle East, in the cities and on the campuses. Wherever possible, we have attempted to give some perspective to the stories, some assistance in interpreting and understanding the complex events that we feel may tear us apart.

Many of the stories, therefore, represent the authors' opinions. This is perhaps a departure from the normal news-gathering function of the newspaper, but in this instance we feel it is not only justified, but necessary. We are presenting this issue now because "Peace on Earth" is such a common phrase of this season; a phrase that seems impossibly idealistic. You need not agree with our presentation; we hope only that you will take time to read and consider the material within.

The Daily Nebraskan staff

... is it satisfying to celebrate the rebels of the past... while we silence the rebels of the present?
—Henry Steele Commager

Beat the swords into plowshares

Let every man 'neath his vine and fig tree
Live in peace and unafraid
And into plowshares beat their swords
That nations shall learn war no more.

Isaiah

War is perhaps the one permanent condition of man. Everything else except death is subject to change, to reform, to advancement; but change reform and advancement in terms of war only lead to more refined killing.

There is apparently no cause for which man will not go to war. He will fight, of course, for his home, his land and his family. He will also fight for his country, his fuhrer, his religion or his ideals. The great paradox of this nation is that we are continually at war in the name of peace.

Like the universal soldier everywhere, the American fighting man will lay his life on the line for the vaguest reason: it never occurs to him that he is killing other men who are going into battle for similar noble purposes: he commits the most immoral of acts for purposes that are invariably presented as moral.

Man has signed his name in blood everywhere on this earth. He has never quit talking of peace and harmony; nor has he stopped killing in the name of those ideals. Few doctrines are as infused with references to peace and good will as Christianity; yet rarely has a belief caused more bloodshed.

While Americans in churches all over this country sing hymns to the Prince of Peace; we are slaughtering Vietnamese as rapidly as possible. The reason? We most oppose "Godless communism."

Our basic aggressiveness had enabled us to twist our ideals to suit our whim. Are you against killing people in the name of Democracy? You're "unpatriotic." Are you against police bashing the heads of hippies and blacks alike? You're "subversive."

We still have enough freedom in this nation to dissent and resist. We do not have the freedom to live in peace nor the freedom to refrain from war.

As the flag on the front page signifies, we are a sick nation, a nation in distress. We talk peace and make war. We still possess, however, the power to hope. The power to hope for peace, for that better world that everyone pays lip service to; for the day when war is no longer a permanent condition of man.

Jack Todd

Photography by Dan Ladely

Daily Nebraskan

Second-class postage paid at Lincoln, Neb. TELEPHONE Editor 673-2399, News 673-2583, Business 673-2599. Address correspondence to Daily Nebraskan, Room 21, Student Union, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502. Subscription rates are \$4 per semester or \$8 for the academic year. Published Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday during the school year except during vacations and exam periods by the students of the University of Nebraska under the jurisdiction of the Faculty Subcommittee on Student Publications. Publications shall be free from censorship by the Subcommittee or any person outside the University Members of the Nebraskan are responsible for what they cause to be printed. Member Associated College Press, National Educational Advertising Service.

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Synopsis of a war committment

On Nov. 2, 1965, a man named Norman Morrison tossed his young child to a bystander in front of the Pentagon just before he was consumed by the flames of a fire he had himself ignited.

Across the nation, young men mail back or burn their draft cards in the face of severe penalties, or flee across America's northern border into Canada to seek refuge in exile.

Tens of thousands of America's children, outraged, advance on the nation's capitol to demonstrate their anger at their country's actions.

AMERICA'S HIGHEST ruling bodies, the House and Senate, are split into bitter cliques of "doves" and "hawks" and Sens. Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy ride high on the wave of a "Peace Vote" for a while during the chaotic 1968 presidential election race.

These self-sacrifices, ranging from forfeiture of life to endangering a secure political career, are only a few of the manifestations of the agony prevailing in this country over its involvement in the Vietnam Conflict.

America is presently engaged in talks toward a peace in Paris, but if a cease to hostilities is brought about there it will be after a tortuously drawn-out process of give and take. Even for this to take place there will have to be resolved several seemingly irreconcilable points of paramount importance on the parts of the opposing governments in Saigon and Hanoi.

One of the most tenable of these is the South government's recognition of the North Vietnamese regime of Ho Chi Minh and of the Viet Minh, an anti-colonialist underground force when Indo-China was under French rule.

BUT THE French were simply the latest in a long history of external domination for the Vietnamese people. For the most part the outside rule was administered by the Chinese, who controlled the area for over a thousand years. The French colonized it and the Japanese invaded it during World War II. During the period of French colonialism, the United States' policy toward the region was either indifferent or anti-French, although never for Indo-Chinese independence.

President Franklin Roosevelt wanted to put the area under the protectorship of the Nationalist Chinese, but Chiang wanted no part of it since he did not feel the conglomeration of Buddhists, Catholics, Cambodians, Thais, and primitive tribesmen would assimilate into the Chinese culture.

Ho Chi Minh was at that time a popular anti-colonialist and wartime leader in Vietnam, one of the three states of Indo-China. He is believed to have harbored great hopes of American backing for Vietnamese independence, but Roosevelt seems to have believed that the people were not yet ready for self-government.

Whatever plans F.D.R. had, his sudden death left them in doubt forever. He continued to work on the assumption that the Allies would live up to their unwritten promise during the war that self-determination would follow peace with the Axis. The 1945 Vietnamese Declaration of Independence even copied verbatim excerpts from the American Declaration.

AT THE end of the war Bao Dai abdicated as emperor in face of popular pressure and the Viet Minh, wartime heroes, held national elections from their capital in Hanoi. Although the Communist Party had been absolved during the war in order to woo American support, still the leaders of the Viet Minh were Communists and began organizing the country along socialist lines.

The lack of backing by any major power however had its effect on the new government.

The French read it as a sign that they could move back in and take over as colonial rulers again.

The French army was rearmed and years of terror and sporadic warfare followed. In 1949 the French recognized Bao Dai as leader of the Vietnamese people and the American government, warned by the French of the Communist threat, began aiding the French efforts. But Bao Dai failed to win popularity from the Viet people and America refused to join the French in all-out war.

With the disaster of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 the French gave up and sued for peace. The United States refused to accept Communist rule and, realizing Dai unpopularity, decided to back Ngo Dinh Diem as a new nationalist leader.

THIS WAS the turning point, for the ambitious Diem immediately set up a new government even during the Geneva conference and the Americans were fatefully committed.

Although the "Geneva Accords" were ultimately signed at the conference, they had no effect on the political situation, even on a short-term basis. They were ignored in the face of power politics and can now be construed to back either side.

Diem moved quickly to crush all opposition and the Viet Minh in the south just as quickly reorganized into the "Viet Cong."

American anti-Communists pointed happily to the Vietnam growth in the South in the late 50's, but by 1959 it became evident that the growth

was entirely dependent on U.S. aid and that the economic stability was only a propaganda mirage.

When John Kennedy assumed the presidency in 1961, he was well aware of the importance of Vietnam and began sending "missions" to the land, eventually enlarging to military aid and adviser.

In 1963 the feelings against Diem boiled over, and a military junta assumed power. Since then, the military has virtually ruled the South and some observers feel that the military rules even now even though elections have been held.

With the present government, ruled by military strongman Nguyen Cao Ky, losing popularity both in Vietnam and in America and Richard Nixon about to step into power in the U.S., the future is as uncertain as what exactly happened in the past.

The only certainty is that dissent is growing in this country over our continued participation there, whether it is a civil war or an invasion from the North, and South Vietnam's attitude toward peace talks may well decide this country's continued support of Ky's government.

The split of opinion in America cannot be better exemplified than by an exchange between Sen. McCarthy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk during the 1966 Senate Hearing on Vietnam. At the end of a question-and-answer session between the two men, the dialogue ended thusly:

MCCARTHY — "Well, I don't think that quite answers my question."
RUSK — "I know it didn't, sir..."



Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo. Shovel them under and let me work— I am the grass; I cover all. And pile them high at Gettysburg. And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun. Shovel them under and let me work. Two years, ten years, and passengers ask the conductor: What place is this? Where are we now? I am the grass. Let me work.

—Carl Sandburg

30,000 Americans killed in war

The 30,000th American was killed in action in Vietnam last week according to "Time" magazine. The count began past eight years.

Almost half of the total (14,400) died this year. Vietnam is the longest war ever fought by the U.S., and the fifth costliest in battle deaths.

According to an Allied estimate based on sometimes undependable body counts, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese have lost 422,979 since 1961.

In one large midwestern university . . .

Fretful prevails over forceful--for now

by Julie Morris
Nebraska Staff Writer

One large state university in the nation's midsection opened classes on Sept. 9 last fall, braced for a "student disruption."

The school's administrators worked fretfully all summer over the details of a plan to handle the disruption. They named a "University Policy Committee on Student Disruptions." And they called an off-the-record press conference to tell newsmen about their plans.

Then the administrators sat and waited. The students came to the campus and they talked and argued about the impending "revolution." And the University of Nebraska's 1968 student disruption was awaited and talked to death.

But 1969 has yet to come.

SINCE THE Berkeley free speech movement of 1963-64, campuses across the country have erupted in violent student protests.

Campuses that have had student disorders include Michigan, Wisconsin, Stanford, Columbia, Howard, Ohio, Northwestern, Miami, Kansas State, San Francisco State and Colorado.

The frequency of campus eruptions multiplied last spring after the six-day student takeover of five Columbia University buildings. That and the general mood of the nation combined to set NU administrators' teeth on edge.

One University official said privately last September, "Well, you know we're all a little bit edgy about what might happen this year."

THE UNIVERSITY Policy Committee on Student Disruptions was organized in October at the instigation of G. Robert Ross, vice chancellor for student programs. The committee has three students, three faculty members and one administrator.

ASUN President Craig Dreeszen, the committee chairman, said the committee

has prepared two proposals that will be included in a report released in the next month. One is a policy statement on student disruptions and the other a policy statement on University communication channels.

Dreeszen said the proposed disruption statement suggests that students who participate in violent disorders be subject to University disciplinary action, including suspension, and also to civil criminal prosecution.

He said the statement also includes, however, an affirmation of students' rights to protest peacefully.

"I don't think there will ever have to be any need for this on our campus," Dreeszen said. "The committee is discussing the same sort of things and approving them that students at other universities have rioted for."

THE CAMPUS protests of the past year have been directed at various targets including the war in Vietnam, student rules, administrative practices and racial bigotry.

University students held two peaceful demonstrations last fall and spring, one protesting the war and one opposing Dow Chemical's manufacturing of napalm. One of the largest protests yet staged on this campus was an October march on the Lincoln City Hall that drew 500 students for a peaceful rally.

At other campuses, peaceful protests in the past have led to violent ones in the present.

The Cox Commission report on the April and May, 1968, disturbance at Columbia University lists eight other major peaceful demonstrations beginning in 1965 that preceded the school's major violent disorder of last spring.

The campus protests last spring supplanted the ghetto riots of 1966 and 1967 as topic of a major worry for parents, businessmen, educators and university administrators.

JOURNALISTS and com-

mentators agonized over "whys" while the largely-student underground press and liberal and radical students exulted over the events.

NU students had mixed reactions. One commented, "I would throw myself in front of any building on this campus to prevent radical students from occupying it."

Some Americans have theorized that nationwide campus unrest has been provoked by a student conspiracy possibly led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

The University's recently reactivated SDS chapter has been closely watched by the local press, just as the national organization has had extensive exposure in all the major media this fall.

THE COX Commission report, however, puts the blame for the Columbia disturbance on a real and general dissatisfaction with the university.

The Commission concluded, "The sequence of events strongly suggests that much of the uprising and the participation of so many students — the number rose to over 1,000 — is to be attributed to a deep-seated and relatively unfocused dissatisfaction with Columbia life."

The commissioners also discuss some of the underlying reasons for student unrest. They said:

"The ability, social consciousness and conscience, political sensitivity and honest realism of today's students are a prime cause of

student disturbances... today one encounters the irony that this most promising of all student generations appears unusually antagonistic to all forms of restraint and peculiarly violent in social or political protest."

The commissioners also discussed the rationale of the students' methods.

THEY (STUDENTS) argue that their form of pressure — direct action, confrontations, sit-ins, and (in some cases) physical violence — applied at points of institutional weakness, is a legitimate political tool comparable to the other forms of pressures — large political contributions, covert lobbying, favoritism, and the like — effectively applied by those

who would lead society astray."

Today, San Francisco State is dismissed because of campus disturbances and ROTC men patrol the campus of Kansas State University.

Predictions for the campuses in the future are varied. One NU campus pastor suggests that student interest in the "Establishment" may shift with Richard Nixon's first year in office. "Students never stay very long with one cause," he said.

But national SDS advises "Join us, our struggle is just beginning." And the University SDS, revitalized just two weeks ago, now has more adherents and sympathizers than at any time in the past two years.

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar ever—
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

—Langston Hughes

Does it matter?—losing your legs? . . . For people will always be kind. And you need not show that you mind. When the others come in after hunting To gobble their muffins and eggs.

Does it matter?—losing your sight? . . . There's such splendid work for the blind; And people will always be kind. As you sit on the terrace remembering And turning your face to the light.

Do they matter?—those dreams from the pit? . . . You can drink and forget and be glad. And people won't say that you're mad; For they'll know that you've fought for your country. And no one will worry a bit.

—Siegfried Sassoon.

