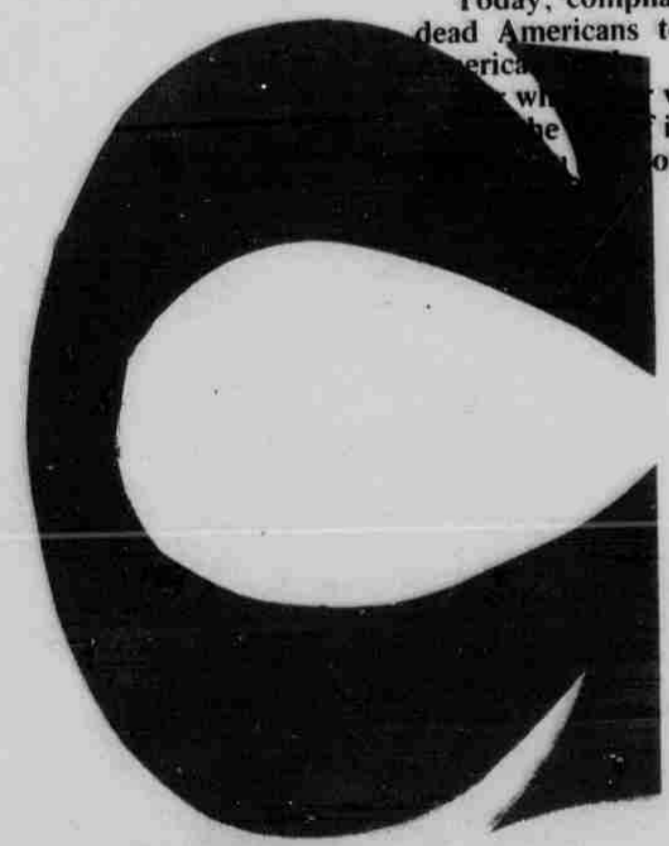


# War is not the answer

... have been no ... to the editor ... the ... of the open ... war. Perhaps ... the side had the ... present its views. ... Wednesday's open hearing ... speaker ... support to State ... DeCamp's end ... most surprising ... came from two ... High school. The two had ... their school and ... 70 ... of their fellow students ... a faster withdrawal of U.S. troops ... President Nixon's policy. State ... of the Democratic Party, Hess ... his full support to the ... resolution. ... campus ... support the bill. And there is a movement ... labor ... to support the resolution.

... Although no research poll has been conducted on the bill, it seems modest to say that 70 per cent of the faculty and students who ... the bill would support it. What's more, the Nebraska Republican Party couldn't ... enough "Do it for Dick" spirit to officially oppose ... Nixon

... Perhaps the most important ... of the hearing ... the older ... in Nebraska, like its ... in many other ... groups of ... that students are ... the philistic radicals ... made out to be ... the most part, they're ... are ... They want ... the earth. They ... serve ... and its sacredness ... to conserve ... goes ... ing that they want ... their homeland. ... isn't ... have learned a ... will continue to ... it ... to the attainment ... those objectives. ... is ... to be incompatible ... destructive to all ... is ... at majority is ... The human wa ... in is ... parent to all Ar ... the South Viet ... ment ... ing up is being ... the ... the ... Tung. He's the ... the ... h emissaries li ... D.C. and spok ... city ... ame embassy ... week. ... our ... other things, he ... ty to bring his ... needs ... ng said his gove ... government of T ... eeds ... and more time ... s more money ... able ... ernment which ... suppressing the ... more ... time for the same illicit ... imagine that, as ... s to ... support dictatorship. ... on ... A few years back, when ... of the Nazi war ... ll on ... the minds of the American ... nce with such ... have ... been regarded as seditious. ... is not seditio ... 000 ... Today, compliance with ... is not seditio ... 000 ... dead Americans to prove ... ization contin ... the ... the ... whom? ... it? ... op?



## New holes in the ground

**Mankiewicz and Braden**  
WASHINGTON—"The footprints (of the Soviet missiles) indicate that they just happen to fall in somewhat the precise area in which our Minuteman silos are located."  
That was President Nixon in June of 1969. It is essential to understand both the truth and the falseness of what the President said in order to understand and assess what the secretary of defense and Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) are now asking us to do.

**WHAT THE PRESIDENT** said was true. An intelligence analysis of a single Russian missile test matched on an overlay one of our land-based missile sites. But what the President was suggesting—that all of our missile sites were in danger because the Russians had developed their own version of MIRV—was not true. It was, in fact, dangerously false. Yet partly on the basis of the President's statement, the Congress authorized—and we are now proceeding to build—two ABM sites at a cost of \$3 to \$4 billion.

Two ABMs represented a near-defeat for the Pentagon. It wants a lot more. On the drawing boards right now are \$12 to \$15 million worth of ABM system, and the American people are just beginning to hear the alarm essential to their approval. This time the alarm is not "footprints," but holes in the ground. According to Sen. Jackson, our intelligence satellites show that the Russians have recently dug 41 new holes. He hypothesizes that these new holes are for a newly designed multi-MIRVed missile.

**CARRY THE PENTAGON** hypothesis a little further. Why would the Russians build and install such a missile? To knock out our land-based missiles. And what can we do about it? Build more ABMs.

Like the President's alarm of last year, there is truth to the new one. Nobody doubts our intelligence agencies' report that satellites reveal 41 new holes. But once again, the suggestion that the 41 new holes—or as many more as the Soviets dig—will give them a decisive nuclear-strategic superiority unless we counter with more ABMs is dangerously false.

It is false, first, because we have no evidence that the Soviet Union has tested MIRV.

**SECOND**, if the Russians do possess MIRV, and are building the holes in order to install a MIRV successor to the SS-9, it will delay their nuclear threat by three or more years. In 1969, Secretary Laird estimated that the U.S.S.R. would have 420 operational missiles by 1974. Our deterrent has been predicated on this estimate. If in fact the Soviet Union is now starting a new weapons system, it will be almost impossible for them to reach the target date we have already prepared for.

Third, the deterrent we have planned—according to Defense—is still impregnable. It is based upon 5,000 underwater weapons, less than 100 of which would be sufficient to wipe out the Soviet Union. Secretary Laird is on record about this deterrent as follows:

"According to our best current estimates, we believe that our submarines can be considered virtually invulnerable today. With a highly concentrated effort, the Soviet navy might today be able to localize and destroy at sea one or two submarines. But the massive and expensive undertaking that would be required to extend such a capability... would take time and would certainly be evident."

**SO THE CURRENT ALARM** should not cause anybody to tremble—or to ask for more ABMs. Perhaps the new holes in the Russian ground represent an effort to harden their missile fits. If so, the Russians are only registering their fear that we are preparing a pre-emptive strike—a fear precisely matching our own.

Sen. Jackson and the Pentagon budget-builders he speaks for may be right. But if so, the new Soviet missile is one we have already prepared for in advance. The Soviet move—if it is a move—can thus only be regarded as delaying a threat.



## William F. Buckley, Jr. Busing and the court

The recent decision by the Supreme Court would appear to do more than merely authorize busing in order to achieve school integration. It can be read to require it.

Now it is important to recognize that the Supreme Court has undertaken what no previous court undertook to do. Important—extremely important—to bear in mind that the Supreme Court has undertaken to do what no major politician ever recommended. Take Senator Robert Kennedy, whose instincts after he became famous were always with the liberal-left in American politics. Even so, Senator Kennedy, as far back as 1965, came out against busing as a means of achieving integration in the public schools.

**I DO NOT** adduce Senator Kennedy in order to make an undeniable moral point. He is a useful witness, it would seem, for an argument based on political reality. That is to say, if the left-Democratic wing of American politics opposes busing, one must assume that, roughly speaking, the whole of the political body politic opposes busing. Does that mean only the whole of the white body politic? The figures appear to deny this. Even in 1965, a poll of the attitudes of black citizens in New York City showed that compulsory school integration had disappeared from the list of the most wanted social reforms. Now, six years later, the advocates of busing are the ideologized integrationists of years gone by: men of high ideals, and exemplary ambitions for the Negro people, such men as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. But they are out of touch with reality. So is the Supreme Court.

Charles Evans Hughes (who would become the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and very nearly the president of the United States) said it all plainly when he was governor of New York. In a speech delivered on May 3, 1907:

"... I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, no more insidious assault could be made upon the independence and esteem of the judiciary than to burden it with these questions of administration—questions which lie close to the public impatience, and in regard to which the people are going to insist on having administration by officers directly accountable to them. ... You will turn upon our courts—the

final safeguard of our liberties—that hostile and perhaps violent criticism from which they should be shielded and will be shielded if left to the jurisdictions which it was intended they should exercise."

**THE DEFENDANTS**, in the most recent contention (Charlotte-Mecklenburg) tried vainly to show the Supreme Court that it was being asked to adopt a line of action altogether different from the line in *Brown v Board of Education*, in which the Court had ruled that compulsory segregation was unlawful. "The United States, in its brief to this Court in the Brown case, said that under the Constitution, 'the decisive inquiry is whether race of color has been entirely eliminated as a criterion in the admission of pupils to public schools.' Insofar as the plaintiffs have been able to ascertain, nobody claimed anything in Brown save that states should be required to cease excluding children from schools and assigning children to schools on the basis of race. Since this is all that was asked or argued, is it not reasonable to say that this is all that Brown decided, and that Brown is not authority for requirements beyond this?"

We all know what has now happened, namely that the Supreme Court has ruled that the color of a student's skin is precisely the datum which must be considered by the school board in determining to which school he shall be sent. And, inasmuch as there are differences of opinion among administrators, teachers, parents, and, yes, children, on whether in any particular situation you have got yourself a prudential arrangement or a constitutional crisis, the Supreme Court has now involved itself in precisely the kind of thing that Chief Justice Hughes warned against. And the question, in an age when the desirability of law-and-order means more and more, in proportion as there is less and less law and order, you have a situation in which the Supreme Court, in pursuit of visions of racial justice, is alienating white and black people, separately; and, together, white and black people who would settle gladly for a Supreme Court that concerns itself for the maintenance of old laws, rather than for the improvisation of new ones.

### editorial COMMENT

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