William F. Buckley, Jr.

Nixon's chess game

SAN DIECO, — The student asked: How do you get away with saying that the left student movement has collapsed, in the light of the recent demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco? The speaker answered: 1) because the anti-war movement is no longer the property of students and college intellectuals; and 2) it is no longer, even among young people, the property of the left. True, there are still a great many students who side with Nixon. But a great many others, heretofore of reserved opinions, and even some of hawkish opinion, have now come around to believing that we should pull out right away. If you saw a crowd of 300,000 war protesters two or three years ago, you could safely conclude that 90 per cent o' them were Mark Rudds, Dwight MacDonalds, or Benjamin Spocks; today, they would include student athletes, Vietnam veterans, and local businessmen.

He might have added a third point. It is that the extraordinary development involving China is a crucial psychological blow to those who believe that tenacity in Vietnam is indispensable to the stabilization of Asia.

THE POSITION of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon (and of course of their Secretaries of State and Joint Chiefs) has been the domino theory. If South Vietnam were communized by force, the resistance in Cambodia, Laos and Malaysia would cease. Surrounded, Thailand would change governments, and vote in one whose foreign policy was the instrument of China. The pressures on Indonesia's hundred million would be insupportable. Next, of course, the Philippines, who could not easily breathe in that iron lung, as a Western oriented enclave. South Korea would logically be next, once again through the satellization of its policies. Then time for the big one, Japan. If the United States made it plain that it would not live up to its commitments under SEATO, then Japan's choice would be to cooperate with the nearby great power, or go it alone. Do you really believe all of that domino theory business, someone asked President Nixon at the Governors' Conference a year ago? The President snapped back: As the dominoes. Indeed.

But now the famous Ping Pong development. It has weakened an indispensible plank in all the scaffolding. The reason why Mr. Nixon is exchanging pleasantries with Red China is, although not spoke, quite clear:

China is different from the China which was annealed into its present condition through two decades of aggression, torture, convulsion, and zenophobia: the China which was the main threat to the dominoes.

It isn't clear whether he intended exactly to call attention to the difference, but in effect he did so when two weeks ago Mr. Nixon was asked why, under the circumstances, we don't go ahead and recognize Cuba. We had a flash of the Old Nixon. Because , he fulminated, Cuba is determined to be a bad neighbor, determined to encourage a hatred of America, determined to disrupt hemispheric relations.

ONE CAN ONLY ASSUME that, if Mr. Nixon was thinking rigorously, he no longer believes quite so much about China. Granted, he hasn't yet recognized China, but he leaves us all to believe that that is mere formality.

What does that do to the domino theory? Nothing. But it does a great deal to those who believe in the domino theory. Because they have suddenly been asked to believe that we should think of Red China as merely another Soviet Union. I happen to think that is quite bad enough, but in fact the Soviet Union has not overrun any new country, nor has it (yet) satellized the politics of any contiguous country since the Czechoslovakian coup of 1948. And China has not taken any new territory since Tibet, if you don't count a little gob of India. Why then is it necessary to contain China by fighting a surrogate war in Southeast Asia? Many Americans will suddenly wonder. If Mr. Nixon and Chou En-lai are prepared to settle their differences at a negotiating table, why not let the Southeast Asian thing run its course? We are beholden, in a way, to the South Vietnamese people, yes; but we are not beholden to them except in a grander context which presupposes that if we let them down, little by little a whole tier of nations will become instruments of an enemy bent on the destruction of the United States.

I do not, myself, doubt that Mr. Nixon is playing chess in China. But he should be reminded that there are lots and lots of spectators who will not only be surprised by some of his moves, but dismayed. And if and when he is in a position to cry check mate!, he may look around him and find that there is nobody left there to applaud.

'LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL'

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Mankiewicz and Braden

Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dea Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . Dear Editor. . . De

Rural Nebraskans for peace

Dear editor,

Here is a copy of my talk at the Peoples Hearing at the capitol yesterday. Time did not permit me to complete it. If you think it is worthy of the space you may print it in the Daily Nebraskan. Please send me a copy if you do.

The University has a great number of people who are No. 1 in human concerns.

Peoples Hearing on Senate Resolution No. 32

Members of the state legislature, concerned people of Nebraska. I am speaking as a representative of Rural Nebraskans For Peace. This organization has been working for peace for over five years. Forty thousand American Boys have died in vain. Four hundred Neb. boys have died needlessly in Asia since Rural Nebraskans For Peace first said, "This is an illegal war. This is an immoral war. This is a war that cannot be won."

Senators, I plead with you to listen with an open mind to the reasons this war must end NOW.

The statement has been made many times, "You can't do anything about war." It is also often said, "There has always been war and the Bible says there will always be war". However with the discovery of nuclear power and the perfection of the atomic and hydrogen bombs the picture has changed.

Dr. Albert Einstein said after the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, "This changes everything, the world will never be the same again".

There has always been war but there cannot always be war. This is not the first time the Bible has been wrong. About 400 years ago a man named Galileo discovered the secret of the operation of the solar system. He proved that the earth rotated rather than the sun moving in a semi circle across the sky each day.

This is contrary to various statements in the holly scripture. For this discovery Galileo was dismissed from the university and imprisoned for teaching unaccepted truths.

What I am trying to say is this: The discovery of nuclear fission has brought people of the world face to face with the stark reality that survival of mankind is at stake. A way to live without war must be found or mankind is doomed.

Governments and most people refused to accept the truth, so it is today. University teachers are being dismissed for teaching the unaccepted truth just as they were 400 years ago. Hundreds are in prison for trying to end war, in America as well as other countries. The governments of the world have plunged into the biggest arms race of all time.

There will always be war? How long is always? Geologists tell us that if we use the Washington Monument as a measure of time since the earth was being formed, a postage stamp on the top will represent the time man has lived on the earth. The thickness of the glue on the stamp will represent the time since Jesus Christ walked on the earth. Now consider that it has been only 60 years since the beginning of the technological age. It has been only 23 years since the atom bomb was first dropped on Hiroshima. Senators I leave it to you to measure the time on this scale.

The fact that the bomb has not destroyed us is not so reassuring is it? How long can the governments of the world continue to manufacture nuclear bombs nerve gas and a vast array of other death dealing sophisticated weapons? Can this continue 2000 years? 200 years? or only 2 years without destroying all of us. Some time the direction will have to change. The time is now.

It is primarily the young people of the world who see the danger facing all of us. It was the young people who have influenced most of us older people to see the truth. Since the governments of the world have failed to face the fact that present policies lead straight to certain and complete annihilation it is the time for all the people of the world to join in the common cause of survival. The people must be heard. That is the reason most of us are here today. A long journey begins with the first step.

Senators, I beg you to take that first step today, to end war vote Resolution 32.

On a recent trip to Paris by 50 Protestant Ministers, they were told by Thich Nhat Hanh, a Buddhist Monk, "The options that are open to the United States are: Peaceful Co-existance or Co-Non-Existance".

There are 150 hydrogen bombs stored in neighboring Missouri. Four Airforce Officers there can trigger the missles **without** orders from anyone. The Airforce states that our minuteman missiles have no destruct mechanism which can destroy them after an accidental launch.

The only real enemy of the United States is their own paranoidal fear of communism that has caused them to surround themselves with weapons that cannot be used without totally destroying their own country.

Peace,
Fred Schroeder

Life?

Dear editor,

Professor John McClendon's letter was a forceful expression of one view of population control but, for as good a biologist as John is, he intentionally must have stretched a point to imply that human sperm or ova are the biological equivalents of a fertilized egg or embryo. In any organism, the sperm or ova are cells of a sexually mature individual of the species; functionally specialized cells in the same sense that a liver cell is specialized. A fertilized egg, however, has biological uniqueness. It is totipotent, a new and genetically different individual of a species that proceeds inexorably to maturation characteristic of that species. Few living sperm or ova are brash enough to make that claim. At least I hope not; otherwise, for many species, there goes a large part of the fun in life.

J. M. Daly

Commends NU anti-war activities

Dear editor,

I'm prouder than I was to live in Nebraska, after the large and warm response at the public hearing on Senator DeCamp's end-the-war resolution on Wednesday.

On behalf of Nebraskans for Peace, may I commend the students at the University for the dignity and style of your own programs these last few days, and thank you for your presence and contribution to an appeal to the state legislature. PEACE! NOW!

Don Reeves
President

Where will they vote?

WASHINGTON—When Dale Kesten went down to the county clerk's office in Ithaca, N.Y. earlier this year to register to vote, the clerk refused to take his registration. Kesten is planning a lawsuit to require him to do so. On the eventual outcome of that legal battle will turn the careers of more than 30 congressmen, and perhaps the immediate political direction of the nation.

Kesten is 19 years old. He is, therefore, eligible to vote in 1972 for President, senator and congressman. He wants to vote in Ithaca, where he attends Cornell University. The local establishment in Ithaca, as everywhere else where there are large student populations, wants him to vote at his parents' home—in this case Westport, Conn.

THERE, IN A NUTSHELL, is the great underlying political question for 1972. By the recent decision of the Supreme Court, 18-21-year-olds can vote for President and for federal offices—senator and congressman. Twenty-six states—of a required 38—have already ratified the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, which would permit 18-year-olds to vote for all state and local offices as well. The crucial question is no longer "Can they vote?" but "Where can they vote?" The answer to that question will determine— in large degree—whether they will vote.

If students are denied the right to vote where they live—at the campus—they will have to travel to another place on Election Day or they will have to vote by the cumbersome, time-consuming process of absentee ballot. Either way, their numbers will be sharply reduced, and the impact of the 18-21-year-old vote will be felt slightly if at all.

In November of 1972, half the new voters will be on campus, 7 to 8 million of them. It should be noted that the congressmen from those districts which include today's enormous (more than 20,000 students) universities are, almost without exception, conservative and Hawkish. Does anyone doubt that Champaign and Carbondale, Ill., Evansville and Bloomington, Ind., Austin, Tex., Corvallis and Eugene, Ore., State College, Pa., Lawrence, Kans., Columbus, Ohio or Westwood, Calif., would not replace them with a candidate more sympathetic to the politics of the students?

FOR THAT MATTER, what about local government? Mayors, sheriffs, city councils and tax assessors are looking grimly at the possible influx of thousands of young voters onto the rolls, most of whom, it is safe to say, have a different view of local priorities than those who have been comfortably in power.

That is why the upcoming court cases are so important. In New Jersey, a student at Seton Hall University is suing to be registered on campus. Similar suits are pending in Kentucky and Massachusetts. Not only students are involved: the decisions will affect the voting rights of migratory workers, from farmers to hardhats who move with the construction jobs.

Some state authorities are prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to keep student voters at bay. Atty. Gen. Evelle Younger of California has issued an opinion that the young voters are somehow still "minors" and must be registered at the home of their parents, an opinion not only illegal by California law but unconstitutional.

IN MICHIGAN and Washington, legal opinions have been issued offering young voters a choice—to vote at home or at a place where work or study has given them a residence. In New York, where the 26th Amendment has not yet been ratified, a bill has been introduced to forbid students from voting at their campus location.

By 1972, the legal issues may not be entirely resolved. Organizations like Common Cause, as well as organized labor, are anxious that litigation proceed rapidly. They have good reason. There are between 17 and 25 million new voters eligible in 1972 and they will change the political map if they vote where they are.