

The right to end the war; is it congressional or presidential?

The Senate will vote Tuesday on the McGovern-Hatfield amendment, the most controversial issue in the long debate over U.S. policy in Asia. The opposing positions are outlined in the following articles, written for The Associated Press by a co-author of the amendment and one of its leading opponents.

By SEN. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN WASHINGTON (P) — Most Americans want to see an end to our involvement in the Vietnam war. Most Americans would like to see our troops come home as quickly as possible.

It is appealing but deceiving to suggest that the war could be ended simply by passing an amendment. Yet, such a proposition will come up for a vote in the Senate next week.

As originally proposed, the McGovern-Hatfield amendment would require withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam

by June 30, 1971. In order to attract a few more votes, the amendment was rewritten in the past few days to extend the withdrawal date to Dec. 31, 1971.

In still another effort to attract more support, the amendment was revised again just before it became the pending business before the Senate.

The latest version would give the President an additional 60 days on the deadline for withdrawal if he found that American troops were exposed to "unanticipated clear and present danger."

The new version also would freeze into law the President's announced intention of reducing the troop level in South Vietnam to no more than 280,000 by April 30, 1971.

The sponsors, obviously, are trying to make palatable an unpalatable product.

In the Senate cloakrooms the revised amendment is appropriately referred to as "the amendment to extend the war." That's exactly what it would do—in either its original or its revised form.

As the showdown on this issue approaches, it is well to recall President Nixon's statement at a press conference as far back as September 26, 1969.

"It is my conclusion," he said, "that if the administration were to impose an arbitrary cutoff time—say, the end of 1970 or the middle of 1971—for the complete withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam, that inevitably leads to perpetuating and continuing the war until that time and destroys any chance to reach the objective that I am trying to achieve of ending the war before the end of 1970 or before the middle of 1971."

The Hatfield-McGovern Amendment seeks to impose by legislative fiat what the administration refused to do. It should be defeated for the same reason: It could prolong rather than shorten the war.

Even the liberally oriented Washington Post has said editorially that the amendment "is too reckless for serious consideration."

The amendment all but ignores the fact that the President has embarked on the realistic course of disengaging in Vietnam. More than eight months ago, the President signalled this turnabout in Vietnam.

"We have," he said, "adopted a plan which we have worked out in cooperation with the South Vietnamese for the complete withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces on an orderly, scheduled timetable. This withdrawal will be made from strength not weakness. As South Vietnamese forces become stronger, the rate of American withdrawal can become

greater."

The President has kept his promise and every schedule he has set has been met. As of now approximately 115,000 troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam. By next April, under the President's schedule, an additional 150,000 troops will have come home.

It should be obvious that the administration is moving to bring our involvement in Southeast Asia to an end as soon as possible. While no timetable has been announced, and for obvious reasons none should be, Secretary of State William Rogers and other official spokesmen have made it clear that the administration's plan is "irreversible" and "contemplates the complete withdrawal of the troops in Vietnam."

There is no need at all for a law or anything else seeking to accomplish what already is being done.

If we should tie the President's efforts to a fixed and public-proclaimed schedule, it would only serve to make an orderly withdrawal more difficult—and, quite possibly, more dangerous for our men in Vietnam.

The latest McGovern-Hatfield amendment seems to take note of this in a belated recognition of one of the harsh realities of war.

Just as important is the effect of such an amendment on the peace talks which have been resumed in Paris. Owing to the limited nature of the war in Vietnam, we have committed ourselves to a negotiated settlement as the best hope of attaining a just and lasting peace.

President Nixon deserves our support in his efforts to end the war in Vietnam. I am confident the Senate will voice that support in the vote on this amendment.

By SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN WASHINGTON (P)—The McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, the so-called Amendment to End the War, would accomplish two main purposes:

—It would restore a greater measure of constitutional government in the United States by providing that the President and the Congress share in the decisions of war and peace, particularly in Indochina.

—It would establish a fixed timetable for the withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina, thus ending U.S. involvement in the war and probably hastening the end of all hostilities.

The Constitution gives the Congress the power to raise armies, to vote on continued financing for them at least once every two years and most important, to declare war. It gives

the President the heavy responsibility of acting as commander in chief of those armed forces.

In simple terms, the Constitution says that the Congress shall determine whether American troops shall be deployed and the President shall determine how they are deployed. These provisions ensure a shared responsibility over matters of war and peace. The Congress cannot force a President to employ the armed forces; the President cannot commit them to a war without the consent of Congress.

But, in practice, we have strayed from these constitutional rules over the past few decades. Congress has failed to exercise its powers, and succeeding presidents have assumed increasing responsibility for all decisions involving our armed forces.

The war in Indochina is the longest in which the United States has been engaged in our national history and there is no prospect of it ending soon. The time has come for the Congress to reassume its role and to share the political responsibility with the President for bringing it to an end.

By voting to end our involvement in the Indochina war, the Congress can put a stop to an ill-conceived venture which has divided our nation, cost us 150 billions of dollars and 50,000 young lives. By this act Congress can help us learn a central lesson of this war—that never again should we commit American youths to an undeclared crusade to resolve another people's civil conflict.

Both the President and a great majority of the Congress believe that the Indochina struggle must be settled politically, through negotiations, not through a continuation of the military conflict. Yet the administration seems prepared to let the war continue in hopes that events on the battlefield will in some way bring about a better negotiated settlement.

In more than two years, the Paris peace talks have yielded no agreement—other than the shape of the bargaining table. In the meantime, the administration has proposed a policy of Vietnamization, under which Vietnamese are expected to carry on the fighting while more than a quarter of a million American troops provide their support. And the ultimate withdrawal of American troops has been made a Vietnamese decision, not an American decision, because it is up to the generals in Saigon to tell us when our forces are no longer needed.

In short, we are asked to continue spending American lives and treasure as long as a corrupt military regime in Saigon, a government which does not enjoy the support of the vast majority of



Sen. Robert P. Griffin



Sen. George McGovern

its people, says we must stay.

On the other hand, by setting a timetable for withdrawal, with all American forces out of Indochina by December 31, 1971, we would be telling the Saigon regime that it must be prepared to defend itself by that time or to come to terms with its challengers. This is one way to get meaningful negotiations under way. In fact, Hanoi and the Viet Cong have repeatedly said in Paris that they would be ready to negotiate as soon as we announce our willingness to withdraw on a definite timetable. And with an announced withdrawal plan, the Viet Cong and Hanoi would have no incentive to step up military operations.

The Amendment to End the War would make the withdrawal date effective by cutting off all funds for further military action by American forces after the end of 1971. But funds would remain available for the return of prisoners, asylum for Vietnamese endangered by the withdrawal and for aid to Vietnam. The President could withdraw the troops in whatever way he saw fit in order to protect their lives. And the President and Congress could extend the withdrawal date if they agreed that the military or political situation made an extension imperative.

The withdrawal of American forces would undoubtedly lead to a new regime in Saigon—almost certainly a coalition government representing major political groups in South Vietnam. Even if the Communists were heavily represented in such a coalition, it is not to be assumed that they are the stooges of either Peking or Moscow.

We fall into easy and misleading rhetoric by branding many nationalistic elements in Vietnam as Communist. A recent poll by the U.S. military command in Saigon shows that 65 per cent of the South Vietnamese want the United States out of their country. They are not all Communists!

The withdrawal of American forces would undoubtedly lead to a new atmosphere in America. It would help end the division that has torn our nation. Inflation has taught us that we cannot have both guns and butter. We need to end soaring costs and begin meeting the urgent needs of our citizens.

The Amendment has a chance

of passage in the Senate. If it passes there, it will become part of the Defense Authorization Bill that goes to a conference with representatives of the House. Its fate is unclear. But in any event, the vote on this proposal forces each Senator to face squarely his own responsibility for either continuing or ending the involvement of American forces in the Indochina conflict. Beyond that, this vote calls upon each Senator to face the issue of constitutional government in our Nation.

Area youth to get firearms training

Area boys and girls will begin their training in firearms and hunter safety at 10:30 a.m., Sept. 5, announced Sidney L. Loveless, National Rifle Association counselor. The school will continue through the succeeding two months at Pleasant Acre near Easterwood Airport for those between the ages 11 and 19.

Nuclear engineering receives grant

The Department of Nuclear Engineering has received notification of a \$40,500 grant from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for its radiological health specialist training project for 1970-71, according to Dr. R. G. Cochran, head.

Dr. Richard D. Neff, associate professor and radiological safety officer, is director of the activity. The funds will provide traineeship positions for ten graduate students, Neff said.

Neff came here in 1966 from Michigan State University.

Space shuttle grant goes to division

The university has received a \$100,000 grant for continuation of its "space shuttle" research for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Manned Spacecraft Center.

Harry Whitmore, director of Texas A&M's Space Technology Division, said the space shuttle project is part of NASA's study for an earth-orbital laboratory.

Whitmore noted the project involves design, testing and aerodynamic studies for a reusable craft which is a combination of an airplane and spacecraft.

The \$100,000 award provides support for the project for the remainder of this year.

Steam locomotive makes historic ride daily

McNARY, Ariz. (P)—With the roar of steam and the thunder of an old locomotive, a portion of American history moves across a section of northern Arizona daily each summer.

The history-maker is the White Mountain Scenic Railway, oper-

ated by Reed Hatch.

The railroad makes daily runs through giant stands of ponderosa pine and aspen, past rushing streams and giant beaver dams, around tight, twisting curves and over steep mountain grades.

The 44-mile, five-hour trip includes a stop to take on water for the engine alongside a brook, a place for photographers to take pictures as the hard-working engine climbs a steep grade, a chance to inspect a beaver dam at close range and countless opportunities to observe wildlife.

Hatch, president and chief engineer of the railroad, began the excursion trips in 1965 after he

bought two steam locomotives scheduled for the scrap heap in California, and five coaches from the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad.

"I thought when I started this, it would draw lots of kids. Youngsters who have never seen a steam engine," said Hatch. "But, you know, two-thirds of my passengers are older adults."

Hatch started his railroading career in the area in 1924.

"I started as a helper and by 1926 became a fireman on an old logging railroad near here."

"I later worked on the Santa Maria Railroad in California, but left to return here and got into

other things before the chance came to begin this railroad."

The chance came when Southwest Forest Industries, operators of the Apache Railway, leased the track to Hatch for his train. For a time, Hatch made his scenic runs in the daytime and the lumber company used the line at night to haul logs to the sawmill at McNary.

But when Southwest Forest determined it was too expensive to operate the logging trains, Hatch's daily scenic runs became the sole user of the line.

"The preservation of a steam locomotive—that was the thought

behind the enterprise," he said. "I know some people think it's a folly. They told me so."

"But you know, a man should not live a life, just to make a pile of money. He ought to spread some joy. He ought to take some risks and realize his rewards in seeing others taking pleasure in his efforts. I know a man, a rich, rich man, who wouldn't spend a dime. Didn't have a car or a house. We told him he ought to change his ways. He didn't and he died, with everything in cash."

Then there's Reed Hatch, making the bell ring, hand on the throttle, waving at the kids.

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