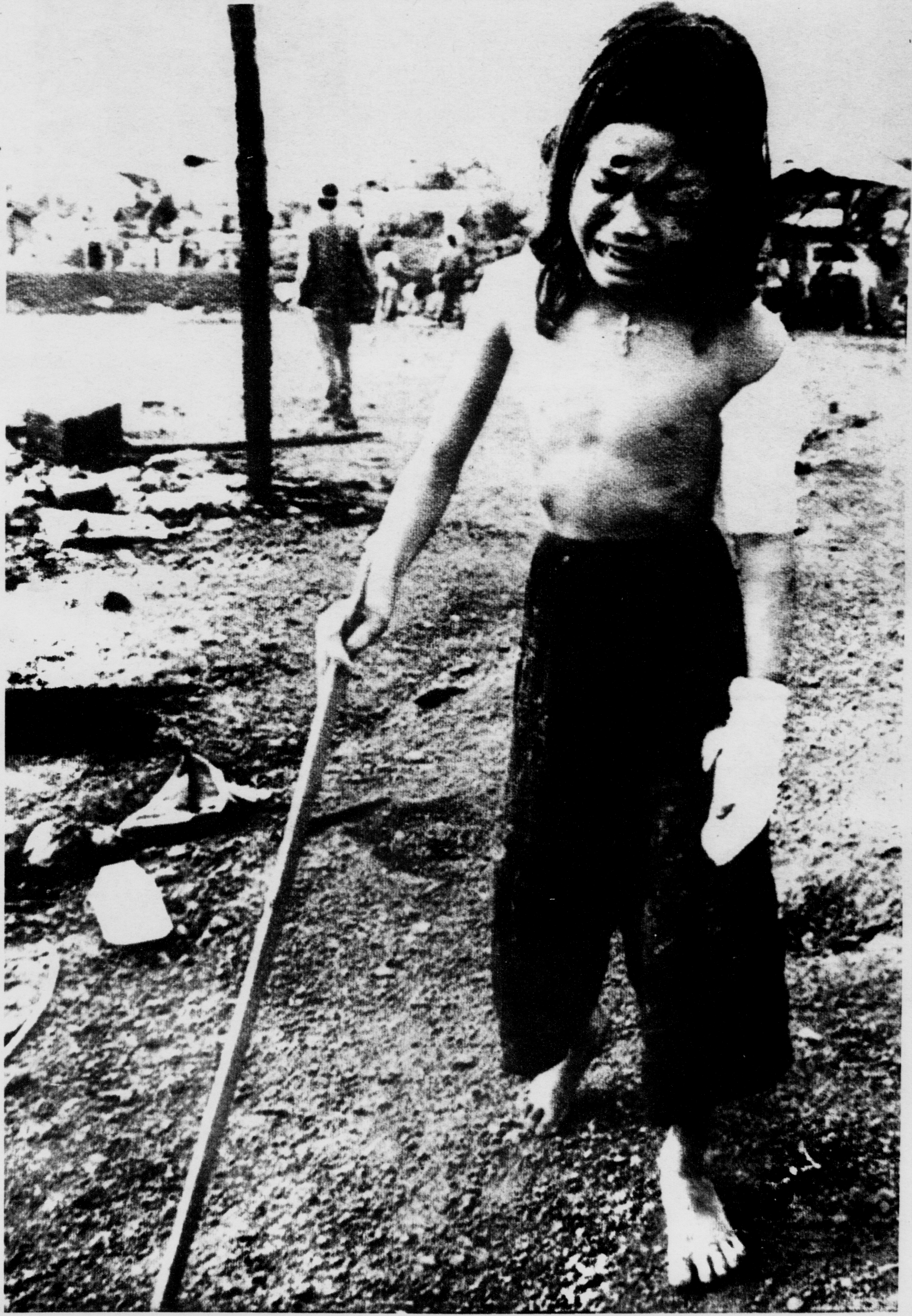


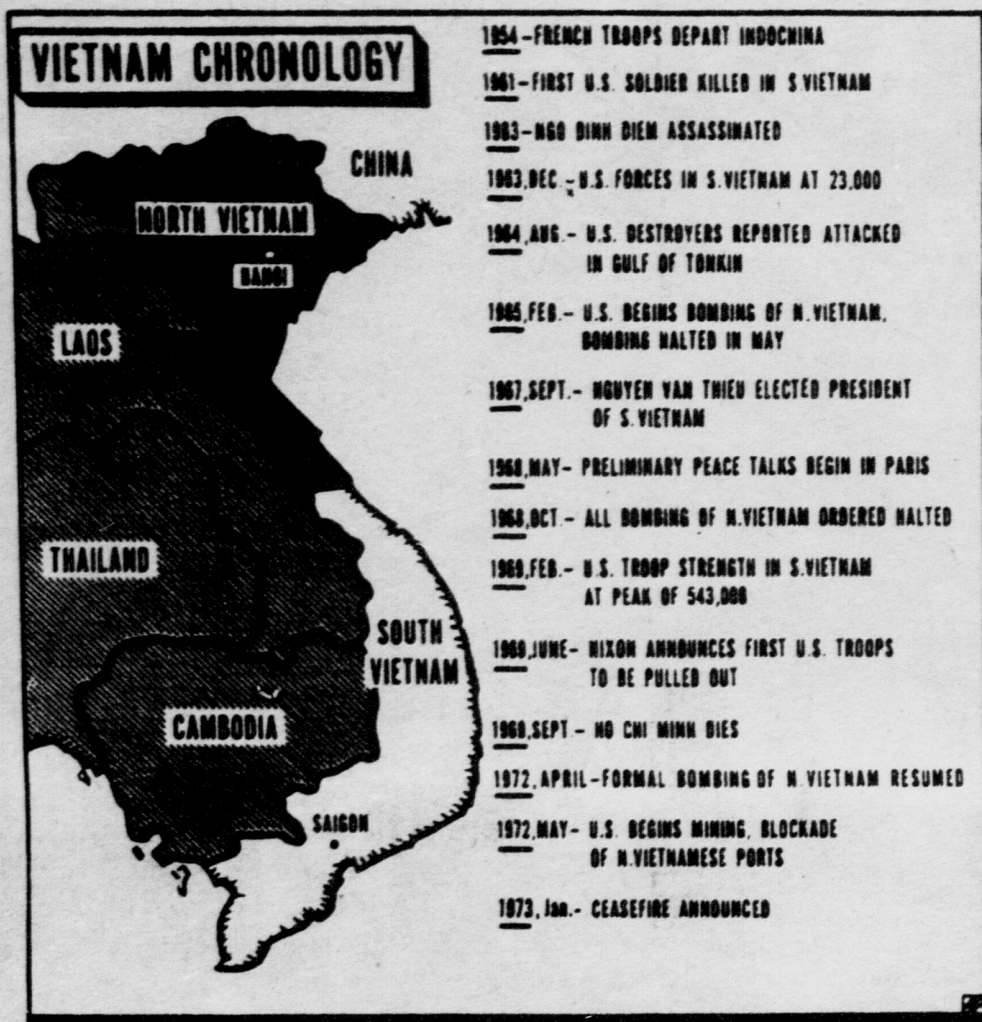


# State News

Special  
Report







### *Last patrol*

Pfc. Clifford Erickson of Cameron Wis. wades through the brush near the U.S. base at Long Binh in his last day of patrol with his Charlie Company last Nov. 5.

AP wirephoto



### *Spring speaker*

Students gather around one antiwar protester at the corner of Grand River Avenue and Abbott Road as he voices his discontent with President Nixon's mining of North Vietnamese ports in May 1972. Members of the Coalition to End the War took over Grand River after a rally at Michigan Bell Telephone in protest of the war tax and

blocked the intersection. The demonstration continued for three days with demonstrators competing with campus, local and state police for the capture of Grand River.

State News photo by C.L. Michaels





### *March to drums*

Contrary to marchers in the United States, these soldiers in South Vietnam march out on patrol, in their countryside which has been ravaged by war for more than 20 years.

AP wirephoto



### *March to Capitol*

Former MSU president Walter Adams and Rep. Jackie Vaughn, D-Detroit, led a peace march of more than 8,000 students as part of a

nationwide Vietnam War Moratorium on Oct. 15, 1969. It was the largest war demonstration in the nation's history.

State News photo by Don Gerstner



# Students lived with war

By BILL HOLSTEIN  
State News Staff Writer

## The Vietnam War.

The words will be spoken for many years and will eventually be memorialized in the history books. But to students at MSU and other universities, and millions of others, they have a distinctive ring because we lived with the war and were touched by it.

The experience of fighting against the war or reconciling



The Streetcorner Society performed an anti-war demonstration June 1, 1972 in front of the Administration Bldg.

our naive visions of the United States with the horror of the napalm has marked us as a generation. The experience has been good in ways but destructive in others. Let us hope that we are safe in speaking and thinking of the tragic war in the past tense.

One of the first efforts to protest the war at MSU coincided with a national moratorium on Oct. 15, 1969. President Walter Adams, Gov. Milliken, U.S. Sen. Phil Hart, D. — Mich., and Rep. Don Riegle, R. — Flint, spoke to a packed auditorium of students, calling for an end to the war. The speeches were followed by a march down Michigan Avenue to the Capitol.

The march began with marchers walking ten abreast arm — in — arm. They carried signs which read "Choose life, legalize peace" and "No, we won't be silent." One group of students carried a coffin draped with an American flag with a sign reading, "Isn't 44,000 enough?"

The 8,000 demonstrators marched down one side of Michigan Avenue between police escorts. The day was filled with "good vibrations" on the part of demonstrators and police both, a distinct difference from later protests. The marchers sang "Give Peace a Chance" on the way and the street was lined with curious onlookers. Many were moved by the enthusiasm of the marchers and joined in.

The peace sign, the two fingers extended, was still in vogue and was displayed prominently. Once at the Capitol, there were still more speeches and chants. Cries of "peace, peace, peace" echoed off the walls of the Capitol.

The fight against the Vietnam War flared again briefly one icy night in February 1970. Hundreds of students met at the Union to protest the contempt of court decision by Judge Julius Hoffman against the Chicago 7 and their attorney William Kunstler. But an ensuing march evolved into a police confrontation. Rocks were thrown at the police and broke windows in the stores along Grand River.

Police clad in riot gear drove students off Grand River across West Circle Drive to Beaumont Tower as students shouted, "Get off our campus."

President Wharton pleaded through a megaphone with protestors to go home and think of constructive ways to help, such as buying television time to present a dialogue on what is wrong with American society.

For most, it was their first taste of confrontation politics and the urgency of protest.

As spring began to approach,

feelings against the war developed more pronouncedly. The campus sprang to life in many ways, one of which was the People's Park. A group of students began sleeping in tents and living in the quadrangle area between Wells Hall and Erickson Sall. The idea caught on and soon as many as 100 tents jammed the area and paintings and slogans adorned the sidewalks.

The proverbial spark that provoked MSU students to action once again was Nixon's sending of troops into Cambodia on May 1, 1970. That night 400 to 500 students gathered at the International Center to decide what kind of anti-war action to take. The evening was marked by a welter of conflicting opinions with one impassioned speech after another. The basic issue was whether to demonstrate peacefully or not. Finally, amid rumors that the police were moving in to force students from the building, the crowd split in half. One group of perhaps 200 students marched to the Demonstration Hall, chanting "one, two, three, four, we don't want your fuckin' war." The mood was serious and determined in comparison with earlier marches. Rocks were thrown and windows were broken. But the police began to encircle the

demonstrators when the curtains in one section of the hall were set afire. Tear gas and confrontations with police continued for hours.

When it was over, two students had been arrested and there was about \$50,000 in damage to windows of campus buildings. The outbreak was an outpouring of emotion with little well-defined leadership.

But a semblance of leadership soon emerged and — the move to call a Universitywide strike was on. Another event that spurred the attempts to organize was the Kent State murders which deeply affected students across the country.

The four major demands that developed in the next hectic days were: Support for Kent State students, the withdrawal of troops from Indochina, the release of Black panther leader Bobby Seale and the abolishing of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) from campus.

The strike enthused many students like nothing had before and may never again. A handful of students stayed up 24 hours, taking only short naps on the tops of desks in strike headquarters at Snyder-Phillips Hall, and attempted to organize a campus wide strike. Many students felt the University should suspend classes for the duration of the war and the Dept. of Anthropology actually passed a

resolution to that effect. Other students, while feeling the need for some sort of decisive action to end the War, felt that closing a University would do nothing toward ending a war.

May 4 marked the official start of the strike. Thousands of students marched around campus to classrooms and residence halls seeking to enlist more students in the strike. Major classroom buildings were picketed and many picketers asked for class time to speak to students in classes about the reasons for a strike.

One of the most memorable events was a memorial service for the four students killed at Kent State, and a silent march through campus. By the end of the week 136 colleges across the nation had shut down but attempts to close MSU were unsuccessful. One-fifth of the classes normally scheduled were cancelled by their instructors and one-half of students who normally attended classes did not attend. That Friday, the University suspended classes for a one-day teach in. But it was the beginning of the end for the strike from that point on.

Anti war activities and strike efforts continued during the next week. On May 13, 2,000 peace marchers met at Beaumont Tower and then marched in heavy rain to the Capitol. The march's pitch was low with only an occasional peace chant. The next day, 8,000 marchers again went to the Capitol where Gov. Milliken was shouted down as he addressed the crowd, saying he had faith that the system was capable of change. During the march, a motorist swerved into a crowd of marchers injuring 10 students, 5 of them MSU students, and was arrested and charged with driving under the influence of alcohol.

On May 15, 150 anti-ROTC protestors were dispersed by police again with tear gas. A few days later came the famed "union bust" after students gathered in the Union



Anti-war demonstrators show their feelings about the war last Saturday in Washington, D.C.



## Against MSU recruiting

Five students protesting military recruitment May 2, 1972 in front of the Placement Bureau were arrested during a scuffle with police. The students were attempting to block the entrance in an effort to cut off

the recruiters. The legal complications involved in the arrests are still unsettled.

State News photo by Nick Jackson



# and have felt its effects

to discuss racism. Students sat and debated until after the closing hours of the building. Police surrounded the building preventing students from entering or leaving and later moved in and arrested 130 people for loitering students from entering or leaving and later moved in and arrested 130 people for violating state trespassing laws and University loitering regulations. The students involved in the Union bust were later acquitted.

Why the strike fizzled, no one knows for certain. Many students began to feel the academic pressures as the term came closer to an end. The philosophic disagreement over whether a University should close itself down also may have weighed heavily on some. But the sheer exhaustion of sleepless nights and frantic days combined with the lack of success in mobilizing the entire campus may have done more to break the spirit of the strike than anything else.

After the strike and the ferment of the spring of 1970, some observers felt that the backbone of the antiwar movement had been broken. Many students, among them some of the leaders of the protests, began to feel that protests and strikes were of no

value. The apparently had not affected President Nixon because the United States was still as heavily involved in Southeast Asia as it had been before. Moreover, the sense of cohesion and solidarity among students across the country seemed to be fading.

For whatever the reason, there was little anti war activity at MSU in the next two years. There were isolated protests against military recruiters on campus but nothing that matched the strike in intensity or duration.

But then in the spring of 1972, anti war activities developed again but this time with a distinct difference. The protests were as much against police as they were against the war. The protests started out on May 10 against Nixon's mining of ports in North Vietnam and the heavy bombing of that country. Thousands of protesters battled with state and local police for control of Grand River Avenue at Abbott Road. As evening came, tear gas was used and the eye-stinging haze hung over the street and drifted into the University Health Center and other nearby buildings. Later, East Lansing Mayor Wilbur

Brookover pleaded with demonstrators to disperse. But the demonstrators refused to leave the streets.

While police stood nearby, the demonstrators found themselves in undisputed control of Grand River Avenue and began to debate upon a course of action. All semblance of a meaningful protest against the war slipped away when a band was brought in to perform for demonstrators. The atmosphere was similar to that of a party with alcohol and marijuana consumed by all.

During the next few days, pretesters had intermittent confrontations with Michigan

State Police from the intersection of Harrison and Grand River to the intersection of Bogue Street and Grand River. One of the more significant confrontations centered around the Administration Building on

May 12 when as many as 1,000 demonstrators swept into the building and locked themselves inside. More confrontations and speeches followed in the days to come.

But there was a pervasive feeling among demonstrators that their efforts were useless. Many of the organizers were disappointed that the eventful days were more marked by anti

police harassment and pot-smokin', frisbee-flippin' good times than by serious and meaningful protest against a war thousands of miles away.

But all this is over — or so we hope. Precisely how anti war efforts at MSU and across the nation in other universities affected the outcome of war will be a matter for historians to decide in years hence. But those who participated in the anti war demonstrations and protests in the years past are justified in feeling today that in some small way their own voices may have helped to end one of the most painful and searing experiences in American history.

*"The experience of fighting against the war or reconciling our naive visions of the United States with the horror of the napalm has marked us for a generation."*



## A big step

An antiwar demonstrator is chased off the ledge of the Administration Building during an attempted takeover of the building May 11, 1972.

State News photo by C.L. Michaels



## Grand River gas

East Lansing police use pepper gas to disperse antiwar demonstrators along Grand River last May following the resumption of bombing in North Vietnam and harbor mining. Skirmishes with police lasted for

nearly three days, during which time most of the main city artery was blocked off.

State News photo by C.L. Michaels



# How will Vietnam War

(Ernest R. May, former dean of Harvard college and now director of the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard, is a professor of history and has written widely on U.S. foreign policy and diplomacy. He is co editor of a survey of American-East Asian relations published last year.)

By Ernest R. May  
(C) 1973 Washington Star-News  
WASHINGTON — Before long, the Vietnam War will be just an episode in history. Our grandchildren will read about it in school as young people today read out World War II, or a middle-aged people once read about World War I, or as our grandparents once read about the Civil War or the Mexican War.

In the 1990s, what are teachers and textbooks likely to say about this war? How will they explain it? How will they assess its results?

Of course, not all historians will be of one mind. They still differ about the causes and consequences of the Punic Wars. But there is apt to be more agreement among them than among present-day politicians and commentators.

In all likelihood, historians

will see the war as growing out of attitudes that Americans held in the 1950s and early 1960s, just as they see the Mexican War growing out of the "manifest destiny" spirit of the 1840s or the Spanish-American War out of the protestant-humanitarian-imperialist fervor of the 1890s.

For United States involvement in Vietnam came at a time when most Americans saw their country as virtually at war with a closely knit coalition of Communist powers bent on conquering the world and eventually imposing their rule on the United States itself. Opinion polls in the mid-60s repeatedly showed that.

Like presidents Polk in 1846 or McKinley in 1893, Kennedy and Johnson will almost certainly be judged as having acted in consonance with prevailing public opinion.

Like those earlier presidents, however, Kennedy and Johnson will probably be also held at fault for having done what was popular. In fact, they will probably be held even more to blame, not only because the Vietnam War was more costly but also because it cannot be measured on any scale as a success. Americans will look back on it as

Frenchmen look back on Napoleon II's intervention in Mexico in the 1860's, wondering how their rulers could have been so mistaken about what their nation's power could accomplish in a primitive, far-off land.

History teachers in the 1990s may find this no easier to explain than we find it today. Probably, they will point out that presidents and presidential advisers of the 1960s were captives of their historical experience. These men tended to see Communist governments in the image of Hitler's Germany—immoral, aggressive, implacable and to be checked only by force or the threat of force.

In Kennedy's time, they viewed Vietnam as a counterpart to Malaya, the Philippines, and perhaps Greece in 1947-48. They felt confident that just a little muscle, persistently applied, would compel the Communists to relent.

By Johnson's time, they realized that this assumption was false. Johnson and his counselors saw Vietnam as analogous to Korea in the early 1950s. It was a place where Communists were testing America's strength and purpose. At home, the danger was thought to be not so much that the people would show lack of will as that they would demand all-out war, has had partisans of Gen. Douglas MacArthur a decade earlier.

Also, they thought that if Vietnam fell, the Democrats would be held to account as they were for the fall of China in 1949. Johnson recalls in his memoirs fearing that a "divisive debate about 'who lost Vietnam' would be even more destructive to our national life than the argument

over China had been." The "Great Society" which he envisioned would have gone a-Glimmering.

In addition, the presidents and presidential advisers of the 1960s were imprisoned by a system that had grown up during the cold war. The U.S. government had vast networks of agents abroad in diplomatic, information, aid, intelligence and military missions. These were complemented by universities, research institutes and, above all, the newspaper,

in Vietnam, presidents and their advisers tended to see the Vietnam issue as whether or not to use air, sea or ground forces. In this respect, they found themselves in situations not unlike those of Kaiser Wilhelm II and Czar Nicholas II in 1914.

Thus the U.S. involvement in Vietnam will probably be interpreted as a product of the public mood, the historical perceptions of men in office, the extraordinary amount of influence exercised in



An Associated Press photographer snapped a picture the moment that a South Vietnamese police chief executed a Viet Cong officer Feb. 1, 1968.

radio and television media.

Most of these agents were or became spokesmen for the foreigners with whom they were in contact—as a rule, officials or members of elite groups. They saturated Washington with advice in the interest of clients who feared lest the United States show the slightest reluctance to back its alleged friends.

Because of the emphasis on military security during the cold war, the United States had enormous capacity for military action. Since the armed services had more ability than other agencies to do something

Washington by foreign leaders, and the militarization of the U.S. government that had developed in the preceding two decades.

One of the more puzzling facts facing a future history teacher will be the prolongation of the war through the first Nixon administration. For by 1969 a public turnaround had become evident. According to Gallup Polls, more than half the population regarded the war as a mistake, while less than a third opposed a peace that would leave South Vietnam to fight on its own. The Soviet-Chinese split, coupled with signs of serious Soviet



Protest by fire

Flames engulfed the body of a Buddhist monk in June, 1963 in Saigon, after he ignited his gasoline-soaked garments to protest the alleged persecution of Buddhists by the Vietnamese.



My Lai massacre

Bodies of women and children lay in a road leading from the village of My Lai in South Vietnam following the massacre of civilians in March, 1968. Army Lt. William Calley was eventually convicted of several killings in the incident.

AP wirephoto



# appear in retrospect?

interest in a detente, had dispelled some of the earlier sense of fear, and Nixon and his chief adviser, Henry Kissinger, were to set their sights on a new era of negotiations. Why then did they not treat Vietnam as the Democrats' child and orphan it?

The answer will probably be found in the structure of the government that the Nixon administration inherited. For the advice flowing in from U.S. advocates for clients in Southeast Asia and elsewhere almost certainly warned of dire consequences if the United States simply pulled out. New men, even with self-confidence such as Nixon's and Kissinger's, could not easily ignore counsel from so many alleged experts. They came to see the issue much as it had been seen in Johnson's last year: as a choice between stepped-up

military action and gradual "Vietnamization." They chose the second course.

Meanwhile, they put themselves in a position in which, if there should come a public reaction comparable to that provoked by Communist success in China, they would be the victims. Hence, fighting and negotiation wore on for an extra four years.

But what will the teacher of the 1990s tell his students about the consequences of the Vietnam War? Obviously, it is not easy to forecast now.

Certainly, it will be said that the war contributed to changes in public attitudes. Whereas polls of the early 1960s had shown large majorities in favor of going to war, if necessary, to prevent Communist take-over of any friendly state, a Harris Survey in May, 1969 found only 26-27 per cent still willing to fight even in response to

overt aggression against Japan or Berlin.

Steadily declining public and congressional enthusiasm for aid to allies, the maintenance of troops in Europe, or even the preservation of U.S. military superiority, indicated a turn against the whole policy of committing U.S. strength to defend the "free world."

Almost certainly, the Vietnam War will be viewed as having influenced thinking in the government, for its presumed lessons will register much as did those of World War II and Korea.

Presidents and their advisers will shy away from military

involvement in civil wars and perhaps even from direct involvement in any counterinsurgency efforts by friendly or allied governments. They will be nervous about the possibility of youth taking to the streets much as their predecessors were nervous about legionnaires and rightwing groups taking to the congressional letter box.

But the practical effects of the "lessons" of Vietnam cannot now be fully foretold.

Possibly, the war will be seen in retrospect as contributing to changes in the character of the

government. Already, one perceives changes. The centralization of foreign relations in the Kissinger office has reduced the influence that U.S. diplomats, CIA station chiefs, and military mission heads once exercised. Agencies concerned primarily with domestic affairs appear to have higher status and more command of presidential time and press attention than at any time since World War II.

If these trends continue, they will be important, and Americans looking back may see them as in part results of the Vietnam War.

*"In the 1990's, what are teachers and textbooks likely to say about this war? How will they explain it? How will they assess its results?"*



## Moment of terror

The plight of an innocent victim caught in the ravages of war was captured in this photo taken June 8 on Route 1 near Trang Bang, South Vietnam. The girl, nine year old Phan Thi Kim Phuc ran down

the road after ripping off her burning clothes, ignited by a misplaced napalm strike by an allied plane.

AP wirephoto





### *'But my child is dead!'*

The body of a child at left, killed in a battle in South Vietnam in March 1964, is held by his father as South Vietnamese soldiers look on helplessly. The child was killed in a battle when government forces were trying to weed out Viet Cong guerillas in a village near the Cambodian border. This was yet another war that made little distinction between its victims.

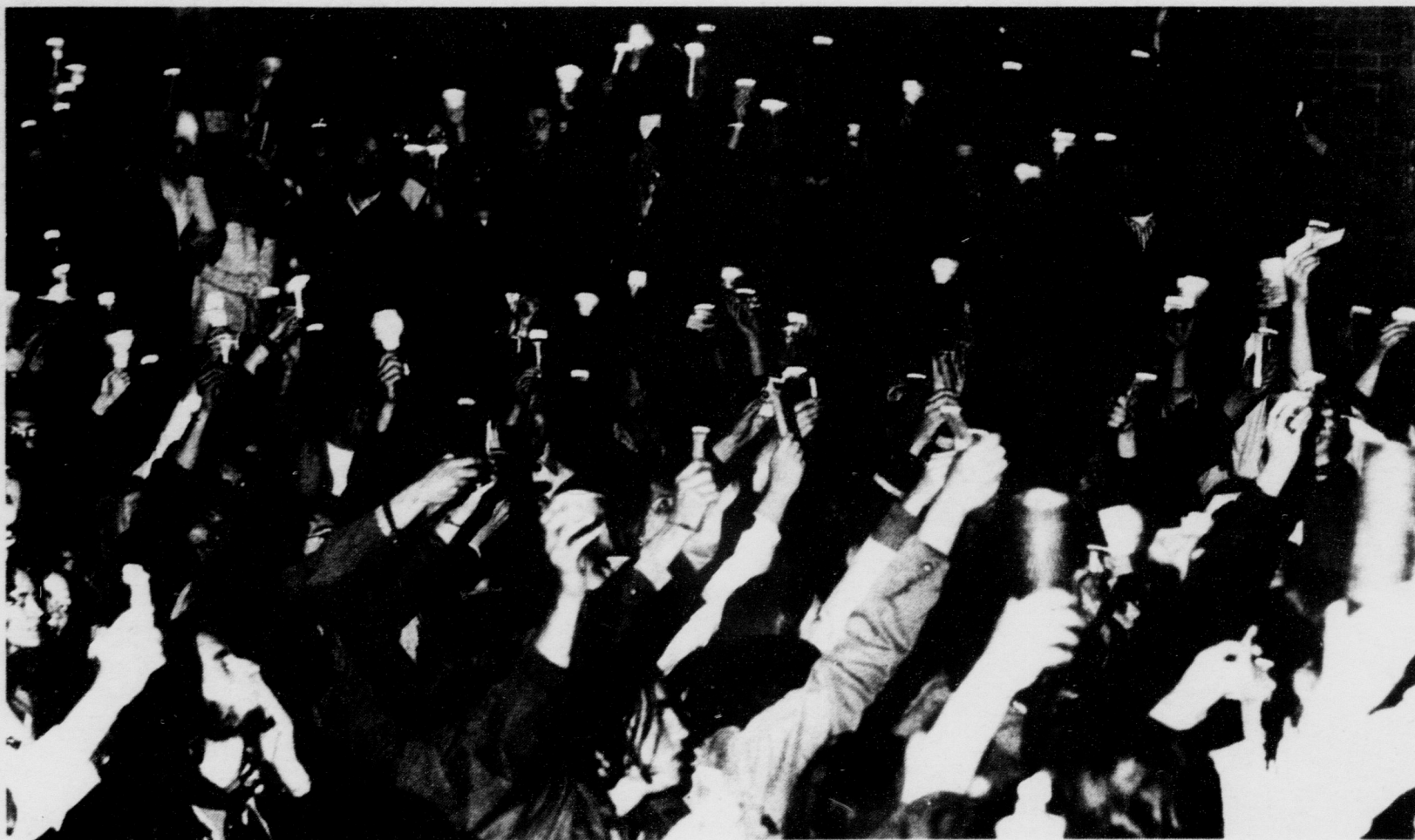
AP wirephoto



### *Father and son*

James T. "Tome" Davis of Livingston, Tenn., was 26 in December 1961 when he was ambushed by the Viet Cong to become the first American soldier killed in Vietnam. His father, Clarence Davis, said he wanted peace as much as anyone but it should be peace with honor. Davis said he doesn't blame anyone is particular for the Vietnam War.

AP wirephoto



### *Candlelight vigil*

About 500 people met for a peace vigil May 14, 1972 at the Peoples' Church and then marched through East Lansing. Mayor Wilbur

Brookover and city councilman George Colburn joined the crowd in the vigil.

State News photo by Ken Ferguson