

# In Our Opinion . . .

## Bubble Gum, Odds n Ends, Have A Happy New Year

The eventful Christmas holidays—bowl games, ball games, parties, hangovers, turkeys, fruit cake and the like—are behind us. And dead ahead—just 12 calendar days, nine class days, three Tar Heel basketball games, one reading day, two Sabbath days and seven more issues of the DTH away—lie final examinations.

Of course, exams won't be the single dominating thought in the minds of students in the next two weeks. No, we have to think of the term papers and book reports we failed to do during the vacation period.

All in all, it makes coming back to Chapel Hill a rather frightening task. But we're back—most of us anyway. And, though we can't claim to be up to the coming challenge, we'll face it and, with a little bit of luck, get through it some way.

The office smelled a little musty when we unlocked the door and walked in yesterday (that's unusual—ordinarily it smells like a just-used locker room. The desks were piled high with exchange newspapers and press releases, along with a few late Christmas greeting cards and the little note from the Post Office telling us we had mail with postage due. The typewriters were a bit dusty and our minds and fingers a bit rusty. The office windows were as dirty as ever, and the wad of Bazooka

bubble gum was still sticking to the telephone.

A few words of congratulations are in order. First, to our own Homecoming Queen Georgia "Peach" Pierce who was crowned "Maid of Cotton" over the holiday. People all over the country had their chance to see her on national television two days in a row. UNC students are more lucky—we can see her every day.

Then to a student whom we wouldn't want for our sweetheart, but whom we're mighty proud to claim as one of the best collegiate football quarterbacks in the country, Danny Talbott. One sports-writer put it perfectly when he said that Danny was the only person in the stadium that was surprised when he was named the Most Valuable Player on offense in the East-West game.

And of course to Dean Smith and his basketball Tar Heels who conquered NYU, swept the Tampa Invitational Tourney, trounced Furman and sent Ohio State home crying over the vacation.

To get back to the mournful subject, it is stretch time. And as we get set to head down that back stretch the staff of *The Daily Tar Heel* extends its heartiest wishes to every member of the University community for a happy and prosperous 1967.

## Tax Cut Proposal Confusing

From *The Chapel Hill Weekly*

For the first time in memory, and possibly in history, the Governor's budget message is a full-blown controversy without ever having been made public.

This curious situation was wrought by Governor Dan Moore himself.

The controversy was born when the Governor announced to the people, a good two and a half months before the Legislature would meet in solemn conclave, that tax relief would be offered in his budget message. Details were withheld, pending actual delivery of the budget message to the Legislature in February.

A curious situation was made even more curious when the Governor defended his undefined tax cut in a "Special Report to the People" last Friday.

The reason why the Governor chose to tip his hand in November has never been made completely clear. The reason why he rushed to defend his tax cut proposal last Friday is altogether clear: he hoped to quiet the rising chorus of dissent.

His defense was appropriate in that it was just as curious as the whole situation.

"Do not be misled by the confusion created by a few critics to my announced plan for a tax cut," went the Governor's lament. "They are yelling before they know what I will recommend in proposing some relief for you, the taxpayers. The critics are yelling before they know what my budget will recommend for education, health, welfare and other vital services."

The plain truth is that the confusion has been created by the Governor himself in his holding out a vague, undefined promise. And the people are being misled, by none other than the Governor, to hope that North Carolina's glaring needs can be met while achieving anything faintly resembling a "broad and general" tax cut.

Despite the Governor's rejoinder, the critics of his tax cut are not few. The criticism has been broad and general and it has come from some of the most conservative members of the Legislature, including faithful Moore men.

It is true that critics have yelled without knowledge of the Governor's total budget. But it is also true that the faint praise the proposal has received has come from

those equally in the dark. If incomplete information cuts the ground from beneath the criticism, then it renders support equally meaningless.

We are not so much concerned about the possibility that Governor Moore has committed a serious tactical error in dealing with the Legislature.

We are very much concerned, however, that he is making a grave error in weighing North Carolina's resources against its needs.

Perhaps it is all right to say, as the Governor did, "I am just a bit weary of those who would downgrade our State." But this weariness should not rule out an honest evaluation of the State's real needs and an honest attempt to meet those needs.

Even with a \$200 million surplus and without a tax cut, North Carolina cannot satisfy its needs in education alone. To pretend otherwise is nothing more than self-delusion.

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'And I Knitted It Myself!'

Mike McGee

## Christmas A Drag With Claus Myth



STRAUCH  
THE DAILY TAR HEEL

Christmas bugs me. It has ever since I was a little kid. I was happy when I found out there was no Santa Claus.

Santa Claus was the cause of it all. I can remember long ago my mommy used to tell me to go to bed or Santa wouldn't come and I wouldn't get any presents. So I went up to my room and lay back on my pillow and thought, since it was too early to go to sleep.

Who is this guy Santa, anyhow, I thought. He must be some kind of nut, spending all night riding around in the sky and climbing down people's chimneys.

And how did he get all the way from the North Pole in such a short time. I learned in school that the North Pole was about five thousand miles away.

That's a long trip even in a rocket, I thought. And all he had was a sled and eight reindeer. And all the places there were to go. I could picture cities and towns spread out from New York to Chicago to Los Angeles.

What about all the other countries. I had a vague notion that maybe Santa didn't go to all the countries. The

United States is so big that it would take all night just to do that.

There were so many presents, too. Why, I was going to get a bicycle and a hatchet and some new shirts. I had written to Santa and told him what I wanted. It was so nice to get it free, because my

Oh, it worried me, thinking of that jolly old man riding high in the sky in his sled, and all the problems he had to face. Gosh, he must be a smart man.

Then they told me. I think it was my big sister that let it leak about how she helped to put out the presents after I had gone to bed.

I was a little let down at first. But it was better that way. Made the world a lot simpler. One less thing to mess up all those facts I was learning in school.

Christmas hasn't been the same since. Now it's sort of an act that you put on every December—the tree, the stocking by the chimney, opening the presents. Every home is a stage on Christmas morning, with nobody really knowing why they go through the motions.

In 1967

# U.S., Russia Could End Viet War

(Editor's Note — The following commentary appeared in the Dec. 3 edition of the British journal, *The Economist*.)

The first part of the Viet Nam war is over.

The November elections in Australia and New Zealand mark the end of the period in which President Johnson's main job has been to make his Viet Nam policy stick. He has done it.

He has cut his domestic opposition down to size, and for the next year at any rate no American politician of consequence is likely to challenge the main aim of the war, even if some of them continue to criticize his tactics.

By his tour of the Pacific in October, and now by the successes his supporters have won in Australia and New Zealand, he has demonstrated that there is a great deal more support among the Pacific countries for what he is doing than most people had thought.

Even in Europe there is less outright opposition than there was six months ago (except in France, where the visitor sees far more anti-American slogans than he sees in communist Eastern Europe). This was the essential first stage of the war.

The Americans had to establish that they were not going to let South Viet Nam pass under communist control. They have made their point. The second part of the war, which is now beginning, starts from here.

If the United States and Russia both handle this second stage right, they may be able to end the war. Both of them have an interest in getting peace in 1967. The Russians certainly have.

The one rock-solid conclusion that can be drawn from Russia's manoeuvres in the past six months is that it would love to get down to business with America on a variety of subjects—above all on a non-proliferation treaty—if only it could settle the Viet Nam war without endangering its claim to the leadership of the communist world.

But Mr. Johnson could do with a settlement too. He has persuaded the Americans to accept the war, but it is not a popular one, and it could give him a lot of trouble if it is still going on when he runs for re-election in 1968. And he knows that, if it is not settled soon, it could go on for a long time indeed. This is because the military power the Americans have deployed in Viet Nam has turned out to be of limited value in two important ways.

The bombing of the North has neither frightened the North Vietnamese into calling off the war nor decisively broken their supply lines to the South. And the American army in the South, for all its successes along the frontiers, has not yet made it possible for all the South Vietnamese to get down to the really vital business of clearing the Viet Cong out of the Mekong Delta.

What this adds up to is a powerful case for trying to get a settlement in 1967 based on the military situation as it exists in 1967. The military

balance next year will be better than it has been in 1966, which in turn was better than it was in the near-disaster of 1965.

The communists have taken a pounding, and the results began to show up in the elections the South Vietnamese felt strong enough to hold in September. But the military situation next year will still fall a good deal short of the clear-cut victory the purists want.

This can be accepted—provided North Viet Nam in return will accept the principle of South Viet Nam's right to stay non-communist. That is the essential principle the Americans have been fighting for. If it is accepted, anything else is negotiable. Mr. Johnson's aim in the second part of the war should be to get a settlement that insists on nothing more than this.

This is going to call for some nimble diplomatic footwork. Ho Chi Minh is being asked to give up his life-long aim of a united communist Viet Nam. Getting him to give it up will almost certainly require the help of the Russians. The Russians are not going to help unless they can go to Hanoi with the support of most of the rest of the communist world.

They do not have to get every last communist party whipped into line. They are willing to let China go on isolating itself. For the grand communist gathering they still seem bent on calling together this year they can perfectly well do without the fiddling little pro-Chinese parties that still exist here and there.

At a pinch they could probably do without Rumania. But that is all they can do without. The fixed point around which Mr. Brezhnev's and Mr. Kosygin's foreign policy has revolved in the last two years is a determination not to let the Communist convoy get hopelessly scattered.

The only terms that can be expected to urge on Hanoi are terms that they think the majority of the world's more important communist parties will agree to.

So how can Mr. Johnson help the Russians to help him? There are a lot of people in the communist part of Europe who say that the North Vietnamese can be persuaded to let South Viet Nam go on being non-communist if two conditions are met.

One is that the United States must make the first overt concession, by stopping the bombing of the North before anything else happens. The other is that the North Vietnamese must at least be given reason to think that their "brothers in the South" will live under a reasonably tolerant and liberal government even though it is not a Communist one.

Senator Robert Kennedy has realized that these two things—the bombing of the north and the sort of government the south will get after the war—are the essential ingredients of a compromise.

What neither the senator nor his supporters have done is to spell out how Mr. Johnson ought to use his bargaining power on these two points as a lever to extract the even bigger concession that is needed

from the North Vietnamese.

Mr. Johnson wants the North Vietnamese to buy an end to the bombing by passing the word that they will then promptly sit down at the negotiating table. It would be fine if they did; but they have not done it yet, and it is pretty unlikely that they will do it of their own accord as soon as Mr. Johnson would like.

Luckily, this is not the only condition on which Mr. Johnson can afford to take the risk of calling off his bombers. There is an alternative condition, and this consists of something the Russians can do. Mr. Johnson will have sufficient reason for calling off the bombing, without any threat of renewing it, if Mr. Kosygin lets him know that from that point on Russia's negotiating weight will be applied to the task of getting North Vietnam to drop its present all-or-nothing terms for peace.

This Russian assurance could come either in public or private, though if it came in private it would have to be backed up by some evidence that the North Vietnamese knew what was cooking.

But exactly how Mr. Kosygin gives his word is unimportant. The essential thing is that the Russians must recognize that they cannot expect the Americans to lay it on the line—by stopping the bombing—unless they lay it on the line too.

If the Russians do lay it on the line, they will thereby be committing themselves to co-operating with the Americans in the search for a peace formula. They would know that if they persuaded the Americans to call off the bombing, and then got nothing out of Hanoi, they would stand convicted at best of impotence in the face of a small ally, and at the worst of a confidence trick on the Americans.

They would also know that a halt in the bombing of the north would intensify the fighting in the south—because the North Vietnamese would be able to send more men and guns down there—and that if no peace talks followed the Americans would come back with rage in their hearts and twice as many bombers.

Then the war really would be out of control. For these very good reasons, if the Russians do make that undertaking to the Americans they will want to live up to it. And it would be a bold Ho Chi Minh who would guarantee that he can stand out against a Russia that really means business.

This is how Mr. Johnson could use an end to the bombing to get the peace-making mechanism moving. The Russians are quite possibly tempted. But they too have their consensus problems. They are unwilling to set out on a venture of this sort unless they have got most of the other important communist parties lined up behind them.

But some of these parties—let alone the North Vietnamese themselves—are reluctant to accept a deal that would mean washing their hands entirely of what happens in the south after the war. This is where Mr. Johnson's second possible concession can be brought into play.

This second concession is not the coalition government some communists have lately been angling for. Coalitions between communists and non-communists just do not work except in the rare places (like Finland) where one side voluntarily accepts a minor role in a system basically run by the other side.

The United States has spent the last 18 months deploying 375,000 men in South Vietnam to make sure it stays non-communist. It is not going to risk everything it has fought for by giving a communist minister a chance to get his hands on the army or the police.

But there are a number of assurances the allies are in a position to offer, and should offer, about the sort of place this non-communist Vietnam is intended to be.

The allies have already said that South Vietnam will be neutral, in the sense that it will not be garrisoned by an American army (though it will need a continuing international guarantee of its security). They can, and should, add a number of other points.

One is that the end of the war would fairly rapidly be followed by an amnesty for all but the senior men in the National Liberation Front, plus the non-southerners, who would be free to retire to the North.

A second is that the amnestied ex-rebels who stayed in the south would be allowed to take part in politics, maybe by means of a theoretically non-communist party like the EDA party that came into existence in Greece less than two years after the end of the civil war there. (Since the Vietnamese

election on September 11th it has been pretty safe to assume that this crypto-communist party would stay a minority one.)

It should also be made clear that the post-war government would tackle some of the outstanding social problems, land reform above all. The aim of all these offers would be the same: to persuade the North Vietnamese that their brothers in the south were not being handed over to an intolerable dictatorship.

It boils down to a settlement on the lines of the Cuba settlement in 1962. The Americans agreed in 1962 that Cuba should go on being run by a communist government provided this government was not a threat to the West's interests. The communists would now be asked to accept a non-communist government in South Vietnam on exactly the same terms.

It is a risk, because this non-communist South Vietnam would for a long time contain a minority of unassimilated dissidents. But if the war was ended on these terms under the joint auspices of the Americans and the Russians—which is the aim of the whole exercise—the risk would be a limited one. The makings of an agreement exist.

It is worth repeating that they would not exist if the American army had not saved South Vietnam from the brink of disaster in 1965 and 1966.

Mr. Johnson has made it clear that he is not going to let the communists take over by force. This is the basis from which, in 1967, he should try to negotiate a peace.

Time Out Called By New York's Tribune

The New York World Journal Tribune recently informed its readers that "the world's most precise public time piece" would "measure the moments to 1967 in Times Square tonight."

The WJT confidently assured New Yorkers: "Readings from the clock will be displayed on the Bulova 'Accutron' sign overlooking the crowds at 45th St.

"The times displayed will be pulsed by time signals transmitted by telephone line from the U. S. Naval Observatory."

Unfortunately, though, the clock wasn't accurate enough for the WJT.

The item about measuring split seconds to the New Year was published in the Jan. 1 issue.

Last year about this time, I wrote a column knocking bus travel, gleefully ending my diatribe with: "See you at the Raleigh-Durham Airport!"

Now I must eat my words.

Because of weather and holiday confusion, it took me seven hours to get from Washington National to Raleigh-Durham.

And just how do you suppose I reached Raleigh-Durham after the plane landed in Richmond because of fog?

—David Rothman