

Insight Elsewhere—

by Kenneth Tabor

To Win, And Winning, Gain

Each country within the Southeast Asian community of nations has at one time or another been tagged "the key to Asia" in so far as our military and diplomatic personnel have centered their efforts at stopping Red aggression first in one and then in another. Right now the label is on Viet Nam. Not so very long ago it was on Laos. Before that, Cambodia.

Right after the overthrow of the Diem government in South Viet Nam, Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia's chief of state, rejected the thirty-million dollars-a-year foreign aid which the United States was giving Cambodia.

Cries went out all over the U.S. and labelled the incident a failure of American diplomacy, foreign aid, and every other endeavour in which our government was engaged. Loudest of the cries was that certainly Southeast Asia was now lost.

Such evidently was not the case. If it were, there are no doubt many military leaders, fighters, and on-lookers who wonder what in the world we are doing in Viet Nam. But we are there, and the reason is that Asia is not yet lost; and we are trying to save it.

In order to understand what really happened in Cambodia, it is necessary to look at it in retrospect; and to do that one must look at South Viet Nam. We are undoubtedly doing much better there than we were earlier. First of all, Nguyen Khanh's government has become much more firmly entrenched. Secondly, our government has committed itself to direct action against the Viet Cong should that become necessary.

Our interest in Viet Nam is out of proportion to the size and importance of the country taken by itself. What has developed this interest to such a high rank is that Viet Nam can not possibly be taken out of its context as a nation within a community of nations. Where before we labelled a country "the key" because that happened to be where our efforts were being put forth at the time, we now label Viet Nam the key because there is nowhere else within the Southeast Asian community for us to concentrate a defense.

We don't know yet quite how we are going to win there. All we know is that if we lose Viet Nam, all is lost. Not that all the other countries have already gone over to the Communist bloc. On the contrary, they have not. But they would stand little chance of resisting that block if Viet Nam succumbed. Not only would they have trouble resisting, some would not even put out the effort to do so.

It takes little speculation to see the progression. After South Viet Nam, then Laos followed closely by Cambodia. This would leave Thailand open from all quarters. The fall of Thailand would expose Burma which is turn would leave the Malaysian Federation unprotected. Next stop: the Philippine Islands.

Now we are not dealing with a tiny, insignificant Asian nation such as Viet Nam. Now we are dealing with 240 million people in a land area of 7 million square miles. The various segments into which this overall population have divided don't even get along

with the West or the Communist bloc. Yet they are candidates for either camp. If we look at Cambodia with this in mind and as a representative part of a huge community maybe we can see why our aid was refused.

Prince Sihanouk and his nation stand between the Red Chinese and the United States. His desire, and there is little doubt that he speaks not only for Cambodians, but for most of Southeast Asia, is that his country maintain a neutralist position. In steering his country toward that goal he first had to throw off French rule. After this was accomplished he rejected the protection of SEATO in 1956. In 1957 he denounced the Red Chinese and told his countrymen that U.S. aid was a necessity if Cambodia was to be saved from the Red Menace. In 1958 he recognized Red China. In 1959 he assigned the blame for his internal problems to the CIA. After refusing American dollars from the U.S. he vowed that rather than go to the Communist block, he would get American dollars from some other European government. Two months ago he announced his desire for friendship with the U.S. One month ago anti-American mob riot forced the evacuation of many diplomatic people and their families

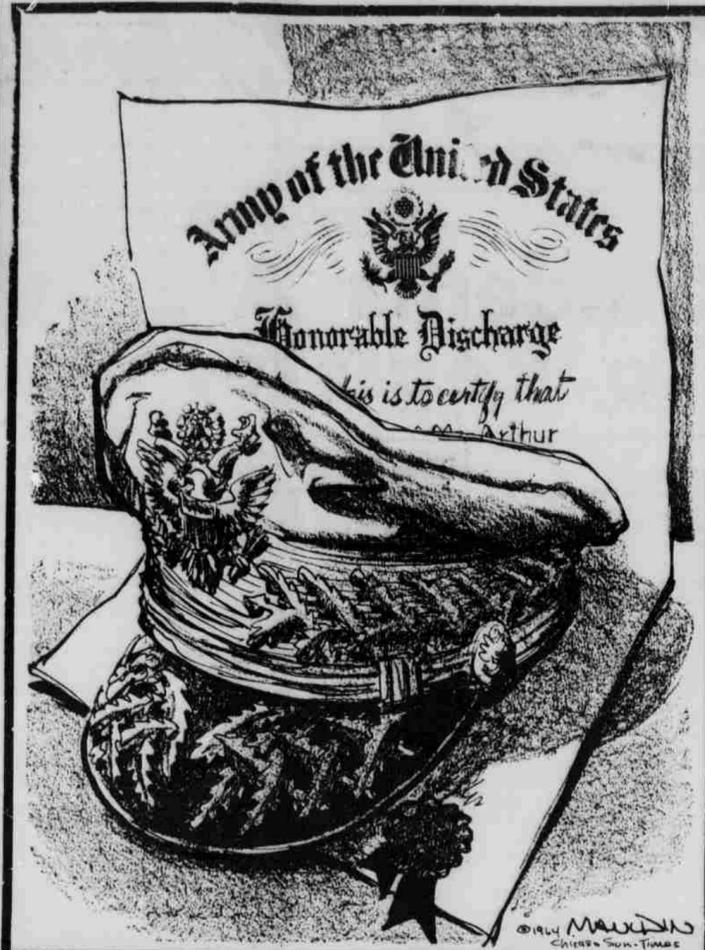
Prince Sihanouk explains these maneuvers as stemming from his conviction that the U.S. will be defeated in Asia. Thus, with neither the countries within the Asian community or the Western powers putting up an international guarantee of Cambodian neutrality, he feels left with no alternative than to replace that missing guarantee with recognition.

Evidently his fence straddling has little to do with trying to garner more aid dollars, and it apparently has little to do with ideologies. The main purpose of his back-and-forth policy is security after the East-West conflict in Asia is over.

The question with Cambodia is not whether diplomatic efforts in that country have failed, nor is it whether the Reds are selling Asia on Communism. The issue is security, and just as we here in the states decide many domestic issues with that criterion, so the countries of Southeast Asia decide foreign issues in that manner. These countries, in viewing the past stalemate in Viet Nam and the compromise in Laos, feel not so much that we can't offer them security because we have lost, but that we won't offer them security because we haven't really put forth a fight.

It would seem that to keep this community of nations out of the Communist bloc, we must take a stand in Viet Nam; not only to win, but also that in winning we may offer them their security as neutral nations and their independence to make their own way as a community.

Viet Nam then it not so much a pitched battle in which we may either win or lose, but an opportunity to demonstrate to this community that we too can assure this guarantee which they need and desire.



ERIC SEVAREID—

Viet Nam 'Policy' Implications Many, Varied, But Clear-Cut

Our "policy" in South Viet Nam is more than an attitude but less than a deliberate plan. It is policy in the least of the meanings of the word: a course of conduct imposed upon us by circumstances. Perhaps "posture" would be the more accurate term. The American posture in Viet Nam is to continue as counsellor and supplier, and to hope. In spite of the various high-level missions to that agonized place there is no ready evidence that anything has changed, save the local government.

The first hope of the Johnson administration must be that nothing will happen in Viet Nam to upset this posture between now and the November election. The continued drain of American money and individual American lives is beginning to chafe Congressional nerves, but any decision for massive intervention in the north by American power, or for withdrawal, would produce political trauma in this country. In spite of his popularity as reflected in the polls, I do not believe President Johnson's hold on the mind and affections of the country — as distinct from his hold on its good will — is firm enough to withstand such a trauma without danger to his reelection prospects. I suspect that he holds the same view.

As long as absolutely vital military positions are not being lost to the Viet Cong, the President can continue his present approach. And it can be argued that this approach is not only the politically expedient course but the wise one. What this course is costing us is not, for a great power dealing with a violent world, unendurable. Time is life and in time many things not now foreseeable may happen in that embroiled country. Of course this attitude is merely ostrichism to the minds of various senators, steeped as they are in the traditional American psychology of action and the instinctive belief that right actions can always bring satisfying solutions. One of the post-

war lessons we have had the hardest time accepting is the truth that situations really do exist for which no satisfying solution exists. To us, this is a new fact, to be resented. To European governments, this is the part of the permanent and ancient condition of life, to be accepted.

In the interim, this dilemma seems to be one of those familiar situations in which the negative probabilities appear more certain than the positive possibilities.

A voluntary withdrawal of the American presence would mean a great political defeat of America. It would also mean the end of all our hopes for that part of the world. This was not the case when the French withdrew, because American power was hovering in the background, ready to move in, as it did. It was not the case in March of 1947 when the British withdrew from Greece, opening up a dominant salient on the Mediterranean for the Soviets, because America was again ready to occupy the salient. The difference between the United States and any one of our allies is not only a difference of degree but of kind. "The buck stops here."

Neutralization of South Viet Nam could not even be negotiated for, so long as the Viet Cong are advancing. The outcome at a conference table would depend directly and completely on the course of events on the fighting terrain. Even if arranged, a neutral status could not be guaranteed without the continuing presence of outside power which would almost surely

have to be American power.

The alternative course, of which some senators are now enamored, would be American bombing of bases, roadways and junctions in North Viet Nam. Aside from the question of what Red China might do, it seems to me that our Asiatic military experience in the big war and in the Korean War argues against the proposal for very practical grounds.

Guerrilla warfare, as developed by Mao Tze-tung and as waged in Viet Nam, is expressly designed to elude disruption by heavy, modern weapons. Guerrilla fighters, can be dealt with only by other fighting men, on the ground.

Furthermore, Korea has to be remembered. When the Chinese massed forces attacked southward, they had only a couple of roads to use, as I recall it. And we had absolute air supremacy. Yet bombing alone could not stop them.

In the big war, in the fall of 1943, I went to see General Stilwell in Chungking and asked him what could stop the Japanese if they decided to invade south China by roadway, from Indo-China. "Only troops," he said, "if we can get them." Two days later I put this to General Chennault, that remarkable air warrior, in Kunming. He went to his wall maps and said, "We will bomb and strafe them, here and here and here, and they will be stopped."

The Japanese did move into China by those roadways. Stilwell was proved right and Chennault's was proved wrong. South China went under, Chennault's Kunming headquarters along with it.

CAMPUS OPINION

Cigarette Ad Problem

Dear Editor: I read with interest the article on page three of the March 19 edition of the DAILY NEBRASKAN concerning the loss of cigarette advertising in college newspapers. That this problem would arise as anticipated by the authors of the recent Consumers Union Report on Smoking and the Public Interest. To quote from page 165 of that report, the National Advertising Service, which represents some 850 college newspapers in the United States, has started in its promotional literature, "Never again will you reach them (college seniors) in a period where brand-changing is so rampant as it is in college years, where they are so eager to shake off family ties, so anxious to fill new needs and wants..."

MAIN EVENTS, the New York City College evening weekly paper dropped cigarette advertising in 1962 and had to appeal to the school administration for assistance before the year was out. The editors expressed their regret that "... the financial integrity of this paper—and apparently many other school papers across the country—must, to such a large extent, rely upon a product, which, according to the evidence, contributes so greatly to the death of thousands every year."

It now seems evident that the tobacco industry will continue to steadily abrogate its responsibility in this important area. Let us hope that the advertising industry will not be so callous. That college newspapers need to rely upon cigarette advertising in part is unfortunate. That the editors and business managers of these papers should regret the loss of income is understandable. However, university newspapers have traditionally maintained a high degree of social responsibility. This is not the first, nor, one hopes, the last time that this responsibility has been in conflict with fiscal policy.

All too often we look at the tobacco industry, the advertising industry and the

tax revenue from tobacco and feel that we must not disturb this ponderous enterprise. Although I have not completed the estimates yet, a preliminary estimate of the loss to Nebraska as a result of death due to cigarette smoking, reveals a minimal figure of \$124 million per year. The true figure will no doubt be a multiple of this but it will be more difficult to estimate the maximal than it has been to calculate the minimal loss.

Theoretically, rational control of his environment is one of the distinguishing characteristics of man vis-a-vis the lower animals. Of course no one likes to give up a bad habit.

George E. Pickett, M.D. Director, Chronic Disease Control

EDITOR'S NOTE: It is reassuring to note that commercial newspapers today have enough large-volume, national advertising, would not seriously affect their financial operation. On the other hand, school papers usually operate at a loss no matter the policy on certain types of advertising, e.g., liquor and cigarette. College newspapers, however, will be able to continue functioning to whatever degree of social responsibility they wish because ultimate responsibility for the paper is not theirs, but the school's.

But, it is disturbing that television and radio have many more and different problems with their advertisers and many times bow to the wishes of the sponsor. It is hoped that both of the electronic media will grow out of this phase. At least, it is hoped they will soon teach the degree of financial solvency that will allow them to operate editorially independent of their business staff.

Consider this, however, as a problem that faces the mass media: you are doing a good (socially responsible) job; you are a business, however, and in order to print or to air you must make some sort of money; you do this by advertising; in some, often many cases, your advertisers object to the job you're doing, whether it is socially responsible or not.



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